

ESSAYS, ADDRESSES, AND STATE PAPERS



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THE WORKS OF
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

NATIONAL EDITION

VOLUME XIX

GIFT FROM
CHURCH PERIODICAL CLUB

The
Foes of Our Own Household
The Great Adventure
Letters to His Children

By
Theodore Roosevelt



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HERMANN HAGEDORN, Editor*



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ROOSEVELT AND THE WORLD WAR

BY HENRY L. STIMSON

THIS volume and the one that precedes it contain representative selections from the speeches and writings of Theodore Roosevelt during the World War. They cannot be fully understood or appreciated except as a whole and in connection with the purpose which they served and the occasions which called them forth. They were not written as literature; they are the utterances of a crusade. They must be read against the background in which they were delivered. Then they can be appreciated as the record of the greatest of Theodore Roosevelt's many great services to his countrymen.

A mere outline of the facts and results of the great contest for leadership of American public opinion which these papers record is sufficiently dramatic. Ten weeks before the outbreak of the war Colonel Roosevelt had returned from Brazil, impaired in health and with the seeds of an incurable disease in his body. He was a private citizen, holding no office and with no political party behind him. The Republican Party, the natural opposition to the Administration, was in the control of men separated from him by bitter animosities and the scars of past conflicts. He himself felt that his day of leadership was over. He had but recently written to William Allen White:

"When it is evident that a leader's day is past the main service he can render is to step aside and leave the ground clear for the development of a successor. It seems to me that such is the case now as regards myself."

On the issues of the war he became the critic of a man who not only held the great office of President and who had a united and victorious party behind him, but who by virtue of those facts was in possession of the sources of first-hand information on the sub-

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ject of the controversy and of the unique power of the President to bring his views before every citizen. The Republicans prior to Roosevelt's resumption of leadership were inclined to sidestep the issues of war with Germany and many of them were angling for German-American votes.

Yet standing thus alone and fighting as it were bare-handed against such odds, the following four years saw him victorious in virtually every issue which he had raised. On April 2, 1917, Mr. Wilson finally reversed himself on each of the main positions which Colonel Roosevelt had been attacking and led the country into war on the grounds and in the method which his antagonist had been preaching and which he himself had been neglecting for nearly three years. By the close of the last year of his life Roosevelt had become again the recognized leader of the Republican Party, sought after by the very men who had tried to destroy him; that party had become the pro-war party in Congress, relied upon by the Democratic Administration for necessary war measures; and finally in November, 1918, under the influence of these very issues of war and peace the people of the United States in the Congressional elections declared for the party which Roosevelt thus led and against President Wilson and his party. Several times in our history have victories in war produced successful Presidential candidates; never before was a President who had been victorious in war thus repudiated in the very hour of victory.

Since that reversal of policy in April, 1917, there arose apologists for Mr. Wilson who sought to explain his earlier course by asserting, first, that American public opinion, particularly in the West, would not have sanctioned an earlier entry into the war, and, second, that during the long interval he was engaged in "moulding and directing" such public opinion with a view to what finally occurred. Fortunately for the truth of history there is ample contemporaneous record of the real facts. One does not lead toward the east by starting for the west. The man who in August, 1914, prescribed "neutrality of thought" and who, nine months after the invasion of Belgium and after the report of the

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Bryce Commission, could write publicly that he had "learned to recognize the German views and the German influence in the field of international obligation as always engaged upon the side of justice and humanity," was not seeking to educate his countrymen upon the international issues of right and wrong in the great conflict which Roosevelt at that very moment was preaching. The President who in December, 1914, sneered at the discussion of defense measures as "good mental exercise," who greeted the destruction of the *Lusitania* by the statement that a man might be "too proud to fight," who thereafter replaced a zealous Secretary of War by an avowed pacifist; the President who forbade officers of the Regular Army to go as observers of the war in Europe, who left appropriations for rifles unused and demobilized the principal arsenal of the United States, who failed to avail himself of even the inadequate Congressional appropriations for new destroyers for the Navy, and who finally sought re-election on the slogan, "He kept us out of war," can hardly be said to have been preparing either the minds or the bodies of his countrymen for the stern duty of breaking the Hindenburg Line. The future historian will agree with Roosevelt that throughout that period the Administration was drifting "stern foremost" into the war.

The other assertion is based upon a very indiscriminating view of American public opinion. There was no real difference between the people of the West and those of the eastern seaboard in unselfishness or in their patriotic readiness to respond to broad views of national duty and interest. There was, however, a very great difference in the amount and character of the foreign news which reached those respective sections, either in the press or in the daily life of the people. The mere expense of transmitting daily news by telegraph influenced mechanically the fulness of the reports of the war from the Alleghanies westward. The war seemed very far away to the reader on the Pacific Coast. But above all, the average American was accustomed to look to his President for information and guidance in foreign affairs. He accepted him as the authorized mouthpiece of American views on

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such matters. It is a dreadful slander to visit upon the American people responsibility for the inevitable confusion of public opinion which followed Mr. Wilson's false leading. During those three critical years Americans had to form the views on which they finally went to war from unofficial leaders. Fortunate it was for them that the chief of those leaders was Theodore Roosevelt. When the call finally came in 1917, the promptness with which they responded to the demand for the most drastic and unexpected measures of war shows how thoroughly they had been instructed by this unofficial work of preparation. And when they had an opportunity to contrast the stern experience of war with the Presidential utterances which had preceded it, the elections of 1918 showed that there was no illusion in the minds of the voters as to who had been the wise prophet and the real leader during the preceding years.

A fundamental difference lay between the two men in their conception of the duties of government in respect to military preparedness. Roosevelt recognized that the President of the United States, being in a sense the trustee of the lives and property of the American people, was under the obligation to guide his conduct by the rules of human experience—the same rules which in law govern the conduct and responsibility of trustees. These rules were unmistakable. In such a situation as existed after August, 1914, they dictated to America the duty of preparedness for war. This was not only the lesson of our own history during the great Napoleonic wars, but in 1914 all other neutral nations within the zone of possible entanglement, like Holland and Switzerland, conformed to that duty and prepared their forces. In other words, Roosevelt proceeded to formulate his proposed rules of conduct by induction from the proved facts of attested experience both in this country and in countries in a similar position.

As against this method Mr. Wilson chose an entirely different course. He chose to assume academically the general proposition that preparation tends to invoke war, and therefore that war can be avoided by an abstention from preparation. From this gen-

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eral proposition he deduced the rules of conduct which he so long and rigidly enforced. I am not oblivious of the fact that after more than a year of this attitude, suddenly reversing himself he made a tour through the country in which he joined in the demand for preparedness. The sudden change only indicated the unrooted character of his convictions and methods. It came after the popular demand for preparedness had become an established fact. It was accompanied by no well-considered programme of action and resulted in no effective change of official attitude or measures.

Furthermore, Mr. Wilson's first and real position as to preparedness necessarily separated him from Colonel Roosevelt in another and vital respect. Roosevelt had always preached that peace was subordinate to righteousness and justice. In this war he had been insisting since the autumn of 1914 that Germany's treatment of Belgium constituted a breach of faith and of law which affected our Government and on which it should take sides and make its position known. Roosevelt's attitude toward preparedness was directly connected with his attitude toward these questions of law and national ethics; preparation was to be our means of making our views felt and respected. On the other hand, Mr. Wilson's decision against preparedness necessarily assumed that there were no issues in the war worthy of our intervention. In the light of his early attitude on preparedness it is difficult to see how he can ever say that he then regarded the wrongs done to Belgium as of vital consequence to us or even that he anticipated that under any circumstances issues vital to the American people might arise which would make preparedness necessary.

Roosevelt's views were no new development on his part. He had advocated such principles for thirty years. The vision which analyzed the tangled European situation and recognized the questions of morals and international law involved therein was the same vision which he had displayed again and again during his Presidency and in his studies of history. The qualities which enabled him to bring home to his fellow countrymen the duty

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which he thus saw were, first and foremost, the magnificent courage which had never flinched at difficulty nor turned aside for personal interest and, secondly, the sympathetic understanding he had always displayed for every class of human being. By virtue of this understanding he could now realize that if these issues were preached to the American people they would follow the path of righteousness and difficulty rather than the path of cowardice and ease.

Roosevelt concentrated his efforts upon driving home three great lessons: First, the moral wrongs caused by the German conduct of the war and which made it imperative that righteousness must be preferred to peace; second, the function of preparedness in upholding righteousness and establishing a righteous peace; third, the duty of an undivided Americanism as the only standpoint from which we can either judge righteousness in international affairs or accomplish preparedness in support of it. In season and out of season he preached these truths to his fellow countrymen. All his splendid vitality was thrown into the task. He was the greatest master of the art of teaching the elements of self-government which this country has ever produced. No description of his speeches can take the place of reading them; no reading of them will give an adequate estimate of their effect when they came white-hot from the furnace of his convictions. In the light of the emergency which he saw and the size of the task which he faced and accomplished, to criticise now the form or taste of his onslaught against Mr. Wilson or the violence of his denunciation is like criticising Philip Sheridan for using rough language when he rode into the mass of fugitives at Cedar Creek and turned a rout into a victory.

The present volume, "The Foes of Our Own Household," contains as an appendix Colonel Roosevelt's correspondence with the Administration on the subject of his own participation in the war, culminating in May, 1917. It also contains speeches and writings delivered during the following summer in support of a vigorous prosecution of the war and in discussion of various civil problems involved in the war. It thus contains the record of

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what was perhaps his greatest personal disappointment and also of the manner in which he bore that disappointment. To be allowed to share himself in the perils of the war was to him the logical and inevitable complement of his preaching. I do not believe that it had ever entered his head that he would not be able to do this. His readiness to do it, his expectation that he surely would do it, was the foundation on which he stood in his appeals to a similar sense of duty in his countrymen. He realized that at his age and in his condition of health he would be likely to succumb to the exposures of war even if he escaped its missiles. That to him was a mere negligible incident in the eternal fitness of going to war for such a cause. The surprise, the dumfounded astonishment, with which he received Secretary Baker's decision not to let him go is evident on every page of the correspondence. He was instinct and thrilling with the sense of leadership. More than any other man he had brought America to the willingness to go to war. He felt his own influence and mastery over the souls of fighting men. Now he was not to be allowed to exercise it.

There was no valid reason, even on the technical side of organization, for keeping him out. Only a new convert to the art of military preparation and warfare could argue as Secretary Baker did in his letters, sticking in the bark of pedantry. He suggested that to allow Roosevelt's volunteers to go would disrupt the system of universal compulsory service which Roosevelt himself had been urging. He apparently failed to see that America, putting into effect the compulsory system for the first time to meet the pending emergency, stood in a wholly different position from a country which had long possessed such a system as a permanent feature of its institutions. In 1917 the Administration was proposing to draft only the men from twenty-one to thirty years of age. The great national reservoirs of men above and below those ages were not enrolled and would be unused except as volunteers. There were no reserve classes from former years of training to be called out successively as there would have been in a nation which had possessed the universal training system for years past. It was from these unused reservoirs that Roosevelt

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proposed to enroll his Division. Such enrolment, instead of disrupting the compulsory system, could have been made to supplement it

Secretary Baker's argument that the going of the Roosevelt Division would interfere with the orderly preparation of our drafted armies and take away from them needed equipment and supplies, when read in the light of subsequent events compels a smile. When one remembers the number of our men who even a year later had to be transported in British ships, who fought in British uniforms and with British rifles, who handled and were protected by French cannon, one wonders whether, if the Administration had really desired it, a way could not have been found by which the Roosevelt Division would have reached the front without seriously interfering with the other American forces!

The primary reason given by Secretary Baker was that Roosevelt was a civilian, lacking the military experience supposed to be possessed by the regular officers, to whom alone the command of divisions was to be intrusted. It was my privilege to meet personally most of the regular officers who subsequently commanded divisions on the Western Front, and also to experience personally some of the conditions of that front. Prior to the Great War hardly one of these men had ever, like Roosevelt, commanded a regiment in battle. Not a single one prior to the Great War knew anything of the conditions of divisional command in such warfare. Every one of them was necessarily a novice to the art. In the light of this personal acquaintance and experience, Mr. Baker's decision to refuse such a commission to the most commanding natural leader of our generation, on the ground that he lacked the "experienced leadership" of these other gentlemen reads like a page from Lewis Carroll rather than the words of an Administration bent upon winning the war.

As for the moral effect which would have been produced by the appearance of Roosevelt on the Western Front during that year—the critical year when the great offensive of Nivelle had failed and French regiments were in mutiny—it is only necessary

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to quote the words of the man to whom all Frenchmen refer as the Father of Victory. Two days after Mr. Wilson had announced that he would not permit Roosevelt to go, M. Clemenceau addressed to him an open letter through the press, begging him to reconsider his decision. In it he said:

"If I have the temerity of addressing you, it is because it may be permitted me to throw light on certain aspects which perhaps are not sufficiently clear to you. Allow me to say in all candor that at the present moment there is in France one name which sums up the beauty of American intervention; it is the name of Roosevelt, your predecessor. . . .

"We have just heard of the arrival of the first American unit on the front. All our hearts beat. With what joy our soldiers greet the Starry Banner! Yet you must know, Mr. President, more than one of our *poilus* asks his comrade: 'But where is Roosevelt? I do not see him.' . . . Since it is in your power to give them before the supreme decision the promise of reward, believe me—send them Roosevelt. I tell you because I know it will gladden their hearts."

Grievous as was the loss to the Allied cause in France by this decision of the Administration, it afforded Roosevelt an opportunity for the disclosure of his moral stature which not only resulted in benefit to his country but is a source of precious recollection to his friends. His true nobility of spirit shines out in the pages of this volume and even in greater measure in those of the subsequent one, "The Great Adventure." We all knew him as a man of action; not all of us knew so well his capacity to bear disappointment and to turn it to effective service; fewer yet had been taken into the confidence of his spiritual nature and had felt the tenderness of his sympathy. Here the whole carefully planned programme of his life had been unexpectedly thwarted. He had been taken out of the company of the men whose spirits he had been training for war and had been left upon the side lines, among those "gallant men" whom he described as "eating out their hearts because the privilege of facing death in battle is denied them." The most virile nature in America, instead of

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accompanying his sons to war, must wait at home for news of their wounds and death. If he had been the brilliant, shallow self-seeker that his enemies in the acrimony of politics had been fond of describing, this blow would have ended his activities. If his nature had been of the narrow type which could follow only the single road upon which it had been proceeding, the blocking of that road would have been the finish. To Roosevelt it merely gave the opportunity to show the broader resources and greater depth of his nature. For months he had been steadily engaged upon the work of selecting and enrolling the men for his Division and planning out the countless steps to be taken in its mobilization and training. Without a moment's delay all that was put aside and he turned himself whole-heartedly and without repining to the work of organizing his countrymen at home for the strain of winning the war.

In "The Foes of Our Own Household" are contained his essays and speeches on these problems. Part of them are devoted to the necessity of a "vigorous, resolute, unyielding prosecution of the war." Such preaching was still sorely needed. For nearly a year after the declaration of war the Administration acted as though it were still dallying with Mr. Wilson's proposition of a "peace without victory," enunciated less than four months before we went into the war. Many good citizens thought that the war could be prosecuted by America without much fighting, at least on land. Roosevelt as usual pierced through such sophistries and, planting himself upon the proposition that we must "beat Germany to her knees" before we could obtain a thorough or righteous peace or indeed have any proper voice in the terms of peace, he mercilessly scourged the Administration whenever it seemed to be heading in any other direction and, without ceasing, preached the necessity of speed and thoroughness in our preparations. When the Secretary of War emitted a child-like statement as to his "delight" in the "happy confusion" of our unpreparedness, the Colonel nearly exploded with the vehemence of his emotion. No wonder! He was living in realities and could grasp the grim significance of a situation in which

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literally every moment counted. To him the Administration during those summer months of 1917 seemed to be flitting like butterflies in the sunshine of idealistic speculation.

Quite as important are the chapters which are devoted to the civil problems which lay behind our military preparations. Many of these have stretched out after the war to the present day. The present reader of them constantly feels the accuracy of his vision and the value which such leadership would have in the political deserts of to-day. The volume is dedicated to his sons and daughters. The attention of his heart was concentrated on their service and every thought was with them and on their future. In the final volume, "The Great Adventure," his last book, written after the death of Quentin, he is enabled through that love for those sons and daughters to reach more directly and deeply than ever before into the hearts of his countrymen. May we, those countrymen, whom he in a sense thus made his sons, carry the spirit of those last messages into the service of our common country!

TO
OUR SONS AND DAUGHTERS
THEIR MOTHER AND I
DEDICATE THIS BOOK

SAGAMORE HILL,
SEPTEMBER 1ST, 1917.

In an age of fops and toys,
Wanting wisdom, void of right,
Who shall nerve heroic boys
To hazard all in Freedom's fight,—
Break sharply off their jolly games,
Forsake their comrades gay,
And quit proud homes and youthful dames
For famine, toil and fray?
Yet on the nimble air benign
Speed nimbler messages,
That waft the breath of grace divine
To hearts in sloth and ease.
So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When Duty whispers low, *Thou must*,
The youth replies, *I can*.

—EMERSON.

FOREWORD

THE man who still asks "why we are at war," or apologizes in any way for Germany, should look to his own soul; he is neither a patriot nor a true American, nor a lover of mankind; and the foes of *his* own household are the folly and the cowardice and the cold selfishness of his own heart.

We should hold Germany in horror for what she has done. But we should regard with contempt and loathing the Americans who directly or indirectly give her aid and comfort; whether they do so by downright attack on our own country, by upholding Germany, by assailing any of our allies, by trying to discourage our people from vigorous, resolute, unyielding prosecution of the war, or by crying on behalf of peace, peace, when there ought not to be peace.

In the long run we have less to fear from foes without than from foes within; for the former will be formidable only as the latter break our strength. The men who oppose preparedness in our military and our industrial life; the business or political corruptionist or reactionary and the reckless demagogue who is his nominal opponent; the man of wealth and greed who cares for nothing but profits, and the sinister creature who plays upon and inflames the passions of envy and violence; the hard materialist, the self-indulgent lover of ease and pleasure, and the silly sentimentalist—all these are the permanent foes of our own household. From their ranks are drawn our immediate foes: the faint-hearted who fear Germany, the puzzle-headed who refuse to understand her, and the men of foul soul who do her evil bidding. The Hun within our gates masquerades in many disguises; he is our dangerous enemy; and he should be hunted down without mercy. High-minded men and women should brace their souls against the

FOREWORD

Menace of Peace without Victory for the Right. It is worse than idle to talk of a League to Enforce Peace for the Future, unless we, who are now partners in the League to Smite Down Wrong in the Present with iron will carry the war through to overwhelming triumph.

THE FOES
OF OUR OWN HOUSEHOLD



I

THE INSTANT NEED; AND THE ULTIMATE NEED

THE world is at this moment passing through one of those terrible periods of convulsion when the souls of men and of nations are tried as by fire. Woe to the man or to the nation that at such a time stands as once Laodicea stood; as the people of ancient Meroz stood, when they dared not come to the help of the Lord against the mighty! In such a crisis the moral weakling is the enemy of the right; and the pacifist is as surely a traitor to his country and to humanity as is the most brutal wrong-doer.

At the outbreak of the war our people were stunned, blinded, terrified by the extent of the world disaster. Those among our leaders who were greedy, those who were selfish and ease-loving, those who were timid, and those who were merely short-sighted, all joined to blindfold the eyes and dull the conscience of the people so that it might neither see iniquity nor gird its loins for the inevitable struggle. The moral sense of our people was drugged into stupor by the men in high places who taught us that we had no concern with the causes of this war, that all the combatants were fighting for the same things, that it was our duty to be neutral between right and wrong, that we should look with tepid indifference on the murder of our unarmed men, women, and children, that we ought to be too proud to fight for our just rights, that our proper aim should be to secure peace without victory for the right. But at last we stand with our faces to the light. At last we have faced our duty. Now it behooves us to do this duty with masterful efficiency.

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We are in the war. But we are not yet awake. We are passing through, in exaggerated form, the phase through which England passed during the first year of the war. A very large number of Englishmen fooled themselves with the idea that they lived on an island and were safe anyhow, that the war would soon be over, and that if they went on with their business as usual, and waved flags and applauded patriotic speeches, somebody else would do the fighting for them. England has seen the error of her ways; she has paid in blood and agony for her short-sightedness; she is now doing her duty with stern resolution. We are repeating her early errors on a larger scale; and assuredly we shall pay heavily if we do not in time wake from our short-sighted apathy and foolish, self-sufficient optimism.

We live on a continent; we have trusted to that fact for safety in the past; we do not understand that world conditions have changed and that the oceans and even the air have become highways for military aggression. The exploits of the German U-boat off Nantucket last summer—exploits which nothing but feebleness, considerations of political expediency, and downright lack of courage on our part permitted—showed that if Germany, or any other possible opponent of ours, were free to deal with us, the security that an ocean barrier once offered was annihilated. In other words, the battle front of Europe is slowly spreading over the whole world.

We are fighting this war for others. But we are also, and primarily, fighting it for ourselves. We wish to safeguard to all civilized nations which themselves do justice to others, the right to enjoy their independence, and therefore to enjoy whatever governmental system they desire. But rightly and properly our first concern is for our own country. Our own welfare is at stake. Our own interests are vitally concerned. We are fighting for the honor of America and for our permanent place among the self-governing nations of mankind. We are fighting for our homes, our freedom, our independence, our self-respect and well-being. We are fighting for

our dearest rights, and to avert measureless disaster in the future from the land in which our children's children are to dwell when we are dead.

In international relations, the Prussianized Germany of to-day stands for ruthless self-aggrandizement, and contempt for the rights of other nations. She stands for the rule of might over right; of power over justice. If Germany now conquered France and England, we would be the next victim; and if the conquest took place at this moment we would be a helpless victim. France and England have been fighting the battle of this nation as certainly as they have been fighting for themselves. Every consideration of honor, of self-respect, of self-interest, and self-preservation demand that we Americans throw our full force into this war immediately, without reservation, with entire loyalty to our allies, and with the stern and steadfast determination to fight the war through to a victorious finish. Moreover, we should act at once. We have to atone for three years of folly and indecision.

We are a nation of a hundred millions of people, richer in wealth and resources than any other on the earth. Yet we were so utterly unprepared that although Germany declared war on us seven months ago we are still merely getting our strength, we still owe our safety exclusively to the fleets and armies of our hard-pressed and war-worn allies, to whose help we nominally came.

It is this utter unpreparedness which should convey the real lesson to us of this war. And remember that as yet we, as a people, acting through our governmental authorities, have not taken one step to avert disaster in the future by introducing a permanent policy of preparedness. By actual test the system, or rather no-system, upon which during the last three years we have been told we could rely has proved entirely worthless. The measures under which we are now acting are temporary makeshifts, announced to be such. We have been caught utterly unprepared in a terrible emergency because we did nothing until the emergency actually arose; and now our gov-

6 THE FOES OF OUR OWN HOUSEHOLD

ernment announces that what we are doing is purely temporary ; that we shall stop doing it as soon as the emergency is over, and will then remain equally unprepared for the next emergency.

It is this blind refusal—from the nation's standpoint I can only call it this criminal refusal—to provide for the future that forces every honest and far-sighted lover of America to speak. I would far rather speak words of boastful flattery ; it is not pleasant to tell unpleasant truths. Probably it is personally more advantageous to utter high-sounding platitudes ; but platitudes are not what this nation needs at this time. I would gladly refrain from pointing out our shortcomings of the present and the immediate past were there any indication that we intended to provide for the future. But there is no such indication. And yet now is the time to formulate our permanent policy ; now, when the lessons of the war are vivid before our eyes, when for the moment the silliness of the professional pacifists has less influence than in time of peace. Flag-waving, and uttering and applauding speeches, and singing patriotic songs, are excellent in so far as they are turned into cool foresight in preparation and grim resolution to spend and be spent when once the day of trial has come ; but they are merely mischievous if they are treated as substitutes for preparedness in advance and for hard, efficient work and readiness for self-sacrifice during the crisis itself.

It is not our alien enemies who are responsible for our complete unpreparedness. It is the foes of our own household. The leaders who have led us wrong are these foes ; and in so far as our own weakness and short-sightedness and love of ease and undue regard for material success have made us respond readily to such leadership, we ourselves have been our own foes.

Preparedness against war cannot be real, cannot be thoroughgoing, unless it rests on preparedness for the tasks of peace. The I. W. W. and similar organizations, including the bulk of the "scientific" party socialists, have showed themselves the enemies of this country in this crisis, and will be

its permanent enemies; and exactly the same thing is true of the self-satisfied, short-sighted rich men who oppose, or are inertly indifferent to, the effort to remove the causes of that preventable misery and wrong which drive honest poor men to follow the false prophets of evil. The dishonest demagogue and the corrupt reactionary are equally the foes of social and industrial justice; and mere ignorance—simple, sheer inability to understand the facts of present-day life—may prevent good people from trying to help the farmer and the working man to help themselves, until it is too late to give such help save at the price of social convulsion.

The foes of our own household are our worst enemies; and we can oppose them, not only by exposing and denouncing them, but by constructive work in planning and building for reforms which shall take into account both the economic and the moral factors in human advance. We of America can win to our great destiny only by service; not by rhetoric, and above all not by insincere rhetoric, and that dreadful mental double-dealing and verbal juggling which makes promises and repudiates them, and says one thing at one time, and the directly opposite thing at another time. Our service must be the service of deeds, the deeds of war and the deeds of peace.

The deeds of peace are for the future. The instant need is for the deeds of war. If we wish to preserve our own self-respect we must do our own fighting; and not merely pay—or feed—others to fight for us. We must not make this a mere dollar war, or potato war. The dollars and potatoes are needed; but the great need is for armed men who are sternly ready to face death in a great cause. Pawnbroker patriotism is a poor substitute for fighting patriotism.

At present our prime duty is to fight effectively and to send constantly increasing masses—millions of fighting men to the front at the earliest moment. Then we must care for these men; we must till our farms, make our factories more efficient, increase our taxes and subscribe to our loans; and back up the Red Cross and similar organizations. Our governmental rep-

representatives must show both disinterestedness and common sense in dealing with business. We need maximum production; and improper restriction of profits, and, therefore, improperly low prices, will put a stop to maximum production. It is criminal to halt the work of building the navy or fitting out our training-camps because of refusal to allow a fair profit to the business men who alone can do the work speedily and effectively; and it is equally mischievous not to put a stop to the making of unearned and improper fortunes out of the war by heavy progressive taxation on the excess war profits—taxation as heavy as that which England now imposes; and as regards the proper profits that are permitted and encouraged, we should insist on a reasonably equitable division between the capitalists, the managers, and the wage-workers; and when the wage-worker gets a first-class wage we should insist that in this crisis, as a matter of vital patriotic duty, he does first-class work for the first-class wage.

Universal suffrage should be based on universal service in peace and war; those who refuse to render the one have no title to the enjoyment of the other. We stand for the democracy of service; we are against privilege, and therefore against the privilege which would escape service in war. If a man's conscience forbids him to fight, put him to dangerous work, such as mine-sweeping or digging trenches, where, although his own life is in peril, he does not attempt to kill any one else; and if his conscience forbids him to do this kind of work, then let it be understood that our consciences forbid us to let him vote in a country whose destiny must ultimately be decided by men who are willing to fight. No human being is entitled to any "right," any privilege, that is not correlated with the obligation to perform duty.

We must continue this war with steadfast endurance until we win the peace of overwhelming victory for righteousness; and even while thus fighting we must prepare the way for the peace of industrial justice, and the justice of industrial democracy, which are to come after, and to make perfect, the

war. These are the two needs; the instant need and the ultimate need; and both must be met. At the moment our chief foes are outside of our border; but they are now a danger to us only because of the folly and short-sightedness and wrongdoing of those who, wittingly or unwittingly, are our permanent foes—the foes of our own household. The passions and follies of each of us individually are such foes. And the men in whose souls these passions and follies gain the upper hand are the permanent foes of this great Republic.

In the present crisis the most evil of these foes of our own household are the men who wish us to accept peace without victory. In the old days on the Western plains we had a proverb: "Never draw unless you mean to shoot." The braggart, the man who uses words which he does not translate into deeds, is a source of fearful wrong and suffering in any serious crisis. Having gone into this war, we earn dishonor unless we exert our utmost strength and fight the war through, at all costs, to a successful finish; unless we fight until we win the peace of victory. When we went to war there was neither talk nor thought of "making the world safe for democracy"—if war for that purpose was necessary then it had been necessary for the preceding two years and a half. We went to war because for two years the Germans had been murdering our unarmed men, women, and children, and had definitely announced their intention to continue the practice. After we had been at war a few weeks the President announced that our purpose was to make the world safe for democracy. This phrase, uttered by the President when we were already at war, solemnly pledged us to exert our whole strength, and suffer any losses, in a terrible crusade, not for our own benefit, but for the benefit of mankind as a whole. To make such a pledge lightly, or to abandon it when once made, would be infamous. Therefore we must keep it. And, therefore, we must understand what it means.

There is a certain rhetorical lack of precision about Mr. Wilson's phrase. It cannot mean that we are to force our allies,

Belgium, Servia, Montenegro, England, all of them monarchies, to abandon the forms of government which they find suitable, and for which they have battled with devoted courage. Neither can it mean that we are to let peoples which show themselves incapable of self-government continue permanently as centres of infection in an otherwise reasonably healthy world-polity. Mr. Wilson's action in regard to the two republics of Hayti and San Domingo shows that if in any weak country he regards democracy as unsafe for others, as a nuisance to its neighbors, he will without hesitation suppress it. Interpreting his phrase, therefore, by the course of conduct he was at the same time following, we must regard it as a solemn pledge that we will not accept peace without complete victory over Germany and her allies, Austria and Turkey; inasmuch as Germany's mere existence under her present government makes the world unsafe for democracy, and inasmuch as the continued existence of Austria and Turkey in their present form necessarily means the crushing out of democracy and liberty in the nations subject to them. We do not intend that the German, Magyar, and Turk shall be oppressed. We do mean that they shall be forbidden to oppress others. First and foremost we are to make the world safe for ourselves. This is our primary interest. This is our war, America's war. If we do not win it, we shall some day have to reckon with Germany single-handed. Therefore, for our own sakes let us strike down Germany—and we cannot at this time make any distinction between the German people and the German rulers, for the German people stand solidly behind their rulers, and until they separate from their rulers they earn our enmity. Belgium must be restored and indemnified. France should receive back Alsace and Lorraine. England and Japan should keep the colonies they have conquered. Austria and Turkey should be broken up. Poland should be made independent, with Galicia and Posen included, and reaching to the Baltic. The Czechs and their Moravian and Slovak kinsmen should be made into a Greater Bohemia. The Jugo-Slavs should be

united in one state. Greater Roumania should take in Roumanian Hungary, and Italy Italian Austria. The Turks should be ousted from Europe; Constantinople can be made a free commonwealth of the Straits, or given to democratic Russia as events may determine. Arabia should be an independent Moslem state; probably Armenia should be independent; provision for the full protection of the Syrians—Christians, Druses, and Mohammedans—should be made. Northern Schleswig should go back to the Danes; and the victorious allies should themselves grant full autonomy to Lithuania and Finland; and, to Ireland, Home Rule within the empire.

But I do not ask our fellow countrymen who fight this war to think merely of others. The future of America is at stake, and it is this for which our concern is deepest. We must for our own sakes now make our whole potential war strength as speedily effective as possible. And, if we have the smallest power to learn by experience, let us face the damage done by our lamentable failure to prepare in the past, so that we may learn the need of preparing for the future.

During the last seven months we have to our credit some things which give us just cause for pride. But the net achievement, when compared with what every other great nation in the war achieved during a similar period, is a cause for profound humility.

We have not yet so much as fired one rifle against the German armies. We have not a man in the trenches. We are now doing, so far as preparation is concerned, only those things which it was inexcusable for us not to begin doing in September, 1914. Yet the time we have thus occupied, seven months, is just the length of time Germany took in 1870-71 for the conquest of France. It is four times as long as it took for the conquest of Austria. And we are not yet ready to meet a single thoroughly equipped hostile army corps of any great military nation. We owe our safety from conquest only to the fact that, to serve their own purposes, England and France have protected and fought our battles for us. Nor have our

governmental authorities given the slightest indication of any intention to provide permanently against the continuance of the fatuous policy which has produced these results; and yet to continue this fatuous policy will ultimately mean ruin to the nation.

The men who boast over what has been accomplished by us in this war during the last seven months—during which we have actually *accomplished* nothing, although along many lines we have begun to prepare to begin—will do well to remember the comments by Olaf's priest Thangbrand on the boasting of the Icelanders:

“Quoth Priest Thangbrand: ‘What’s the use
Of all this bragging up and down,
When three women and one goose
Make a market in your town?’”

Three women and one goose do not make a market. Nor do they win a war. And in neither case does boasting permanently supply the deficiency.

MUST WE BE BRAYED IN A MORTAR BEFORE OUR
FOLLY DEPART FROM US?

IT is useless to cry over spilt milk. But it is much worse than useless, it is mischievous, and may be ruinous, to pretend that the milk was not spilt, and therefore to invite a repetition of the conditions which caused the spilling. For the last three years our foremost duty, to ourselves and to the world, has been to prepare. This duty we have shamefully neglected, and our neglect is responsible for the dragging on of the war, and for the needless sacrifice of myriads of lives. Yet those highest in authority seem to read this lesson backward, as mediæval sorcerers read the Lord's Prayer.

The secretaries of war and the navy, of course, speak for President Wilson. They are his instruments in formulating and carrying out the entire military policy, temporary and permanent, of the government. In the Official Bulletin of June 7th, the secretary of war, Mr. Baker, is reported as saying that there is "difficulty . . . disorder and confusion . . . in getting things started," and as adding: "But it is a happy confusion. I delight in the fact that when we entered this war we were not, like our adversary, ready for it, anxious for it, prepared for it, and inviting it. Accustomed to peace, we were not ready." The secretary of the navy, Mr. Daniels, is quoted in the public press (of course less authentic authority than the Official Bulletin) as answering a query as to whether the navy was preparing new weapons, by saying: "That cannot be determined until we know whether we are going to fight an offensive or a defensive war."

The importance of these statements is that they lay down

the rule of conduct which we as a people are now officially supposed to accept for our future policy; therefore it is proposed that we continue the policy of unpreparedness which we have followed in such striking fashion in the last three years. We are so to act, on the ground that although our unpreparedness produced "difficulty, disorder, and confusion," yet that it was a "happy confusion," and that our failure to prepare ought to give us "delight"; and that before we make ready the engines which alone can make our navy thoroughly effective and formidable in war, we must wait until some months after the war comes, and then try to reach a cautious, provisional conclusion as to whether it is to be offensive or defensive!

Apparently, it is proposed to continue our policy of unpreparedness in the future because it has not brought us to destruction in the past. The explanation of the latter fact is simple. For the last four years the international situation has been such that we could, and did, commit every species of blunder and yet escape punishment. Our task in foreign affairs was very easy; it was very badly performed; but the conditions were such that no formidable nation in the world dared take its eyes off the other formidable nations; and so, in spite of the really marvellous indecision and feebleness of our governmental policy, we were able to follow a devious, and often a retrograde, course through and among our difficulties with little loss of money—and seemingly loss of honor did not concern us, for we had grown to accept streams of adroit and irrelevant rhetoric as a worthy substitute for honorable action.

In Mexico the various insurgent leaders whom we alternately petted and opposed systematically slaughtered our own men, women, and children, and those of the Spaniards, and Chinese, whom they despised as heartily as they did us; but they played no such antics with the nations they feared and respected, such as the Germans, English, French, and Japanese; accordingly none of the latter found it necessary to interfere at the moment; and therefore the mass of our people, who

were not in Mexico, and who were taught by the government to look with lethargic indifference on the slaughter of their fellow citizens in Mexico, were able to eat the bread of humiliation in physical safety. How any people with an honorable past could submit to such shame as our government inflicted on our people in connection with the Carrizal incident is literally inexplicable.

Then the Great War occurred. It at once became a matter of incalculable consequence to each of the contending nations not to irritate us; and our safety for the time being seemed assured. Germany, however, gradually acquired such overweening contempt for our career of greedy and peaceable infamy, she so despised the merely conversational reply of our government to her outrages, she regarded with such utter derision our tame submission to murder at the same time that we prattled of peace and duty, and our failure to prepare so thoroughly convinced her that our scabbard held nothing save either a pen or a wooden sword, that she literally kicked us into war—a war which our own lack of self-respect had rendered inevitable, and for which we had not prepared in the smallest degree.

On January 31st last Germany sent us a note which, after a couple of months' hesitation and uncertainty, was accepted by the President and Congress as a declaration of war—for we did not go to war in April, but merely stated that Germany was already at war with us. We sundered diplomatic relations with Germany a couple of days after the arrival of the note. For two months we announced that we were waiting for an "overt act" of murder.

Our government defined this term with meticulous precision. It decided, for example, that the murder of the two little American-born O'Donnell girls was not, so far as we were concerned, a murder, because their father had not been naturalized—apparently we did not regard the slaughter of the children of a non-naturalized parent as "making democracy unsafe." Some thirty American non-combatants were killed be-

fore a case occurred in which the Germans consented to commit murder in such fashion as to violate all, instead of merely some, of the rules our government had laid down as guides for the justifiable homicide of peaceful Americans going about their lawful business on the high seas.

We sluggishly drifted sternforemost into war. The reasons alleged were acts precisely like the acts which had been committed throughout the previous two years; there was more justification for going to war two years previously when the *Lusitania* was sunk than at that particular moment. After an interval of meditation we announced through our government that we had discovered that it was our duty to wage the war because it was a fight for the perpetuation of democracy and for the rights of small nations and of humanity generally—all of which we had been strenuously denying, directly and indirectly, for the preceding two years and a half.

Then our people began to wake up to the actual situation. They had been taught to believe that easy—and slippery—rhetoric was a cheap substitute for action, and they now found it so cheap as to be worthless. They had been taught to trust for safety to boasts about our peaceful power and virtuous intentions, and to clamorous demands that everybody should love us because we were so harmless, and to quavering assertions that the way to avoid war was not to prepare for it. When the test came they found that all these devices in the aggregate amounted to absolutely nothing when once we were face to face with the "merciless old verities." We began, rather dimly, to realize that, as a national asset, a combination of glib sophistry with the feeble sham-amiability which obviously springs from fear, was of small value when we were faced by stern and brutal men with guns in their hands.

Let our people keep steadily in remembrance that the pacifists, sometimes speaking their own folly, and sometimes acting under the sinister inspiration of the paid German emissaries, insisted that we should keep unprepared because, in the words of Mr. Wilson's secretary of war, to be prepared for

war is to be "anxious for it . . . and inviting it." They insisted that unpreparedness meant peace. The presidential campaign last fall was fought and won on the issue that such persistent unpreparedness "kept us out of war"—all of the political leaders on one side and a considerable number of those on the other side taking this position. Yellow called to yellow.

Well, we all know the outcome. Our unpreparedness did not "keep us out" of the war. Unpreparedness never does keep a nation out of war; it merely makes a nation incompetent to carry it on effectively. And preparedness does not "invite" war; on the contrary it usually averts war, and always renders the prepared nation able to act efficiently if war should, unhappily, come.

Seven months have passed since Germany's practical declaration of war against us (our immediate breaking of diplomatic relations and the subsequent action of Congress show that our government really accepted the German note of January 31st as in effect a declaration of war, although the Administration's inveterate habit of shuffling obscured the truth for the first sixty days). During these months there has been admirable work done by the men, including the big business men, who in a spirit of the highest patriotism have given up their whole time to governmental work, food conservation and control, Red Cross activities, public work of all kinds at Washington and elsewhere. The preparatory work for a really extensive programme of aircraft construction has been both speedy and efficient. Congress, with fine patriotism, appropriated vast sums of money for the use of the Administration. Admiral Sims and our antisubmarine craft are doing effective work in support of the similar British craft; General Wood, General Bell, General Crowder, General Squier, Admiral Gleaves, and many other army and navy officers have in their several fields accomplished very much—the utmost possible with the means at hand; that gallant and efficient officer, General Pershing, and his fine divisions of infantry are certain to give us all cause for pride and exultation when they are put on the firing-

line. Some hundreds of thousands of other gallant men have volunteered, under very discouraging circumstances, and some millions stand ready to be drafted.

But let us look facts squarely in the face. If Germany were free to use even a tenth of her strength against us, all the troops that we have at this moment assembled, at home and abroad, would not hold her a week. During the last seven months the bad effects of our complete failure to prepare during the preceding three years have been appallingly evident. The "difficulty, disorder, and confusion," as Secretary Baker puts it, have been such as in sum to have amounted to *absolute inability to produce within these seven months any force that could match even a single German army corps*. If we had been pitted single-handed against any one Old World military power of the first rank, whether European or Asiatic, we should have been conquered as completely as Belgium or Roumania, within these seven months—indeed, within the first three months. We owe our ignoble safety, we owe the fact that we are not at this moment cowering under the heel of an alien conqueror, solely to the protection given us by the British fleet and the French and British armies during these months. Except for the safety thus secured us, Pershing and his men, and Sims and his men, and some tens of thousands like them, would have bravely died in hopeless battle; and our remaining millions of men would never even have had a chance to fight for their wives and children.

No American worth his salt can look these facts in the face without shame and alarm. Rhetoric is a poor substitute for action, and we have trusted only to rhetoric. If we are really to be a great nation, we must not merely talk big; we must act big. And our actions have been very, very small!

Had we prepared in advance we could have put a couple of million troops in the field last April; and the war would have been over now. As it is, we have so far done nothing.

We cannot permanently hold a leading place in the world unless we prepare. But there is far more than world-position

at stake. Our mere safety at home is at stake. We cannot prevent ourselves from sooner or later sinking into precisely the position China now occupies in the presence of Japan, unless we prepare. The probabilities are overwhelming that the next time we fight a formidable foe we shall not again find allies whose interest it will be to protect us, and to shield us from the consequences of our feebleness and short-sightedness, as France and England have for seven months—indeed for three years—been doing. This means that ruin will surely in the end befall us unless we ourselves so prepare our strength that against a formidable opponent we shall be able to do for ourselves what the English and French armies and navies are now doing for us.

Let us make no mistake. Unless we beat Germany in Europe, we shall have to fight her deadly ambition on our own coasts and in our own continent. A great American army in Europe now is the best possible insurance against a great European or Asiatic army in our own country a couple of years, or a couple of decades, hence.

We are fighting for humanity; but we are also, and primarily, fighting for our own vital interests. Our army in France will fight for France and Belgium; but most of all it will be fighting for America. Until we make the world safe for America (and incidentally until we make democracy safe in America), it is empty rhetoric to talk of making the world safe for democracy; and no one of these objects can be obtained merely by high-sounding words, or by anything else save by the exercise of hard, grim, common sense in advance preparation, and then by unflinching courage in the use of the hardened strength which has thus been prepared.

Nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time. In this crisis we have been saved by the valor of others from paying a ruinous price for our folly. Let us now put ourselves in such shape that next time we shall be able to save ourselves, instead of helplessly asking some one who is stronger and braver to do the job for us. The first step toward the achievement of

this end is clearly to understand the present situation. Seven months after Germany virtually declared war on us, five months after we reluctantly admitted that we were at war, we have a few tens of thousands of gallant infantry near the front, forming an almost inappreciable proportion of the large armies engaged; we have some hundreds of thousands of men who have just begun, or expect soon to begin, training. We have refused to standardize our ammunition by the ammunition of our allies. We are beginning to manufacture good artillery, and to get our submarines and antisubmarines in shape—although we have signally failed to meet the submarine menace affirmatively by the development of an antisubmarine force sufficient to quell it; we have shaped an excellent plan for aircraft development; but as yet we have not a single big field gun or a single war aeroplane fit to match against the field-artillery and flying-machines of either our allies or our enemies. We are short of rifles, of tents, of clothing, of everything. We are actually building rifles of a new type which nevertheless will not take the standardized ammunition of either of our allies. And in the Official Journal of the Administration we are officially told on behalf of the Administration that this is a “happy confusion” and that we should feel “delight” because of our shameful unpreparedness.

Once again, let us remember Germany’s record of ruthless efficiency in her former wars—in each of which her stoutest allies were the pacifists, the foolish braggart optimists, and all the antipreparedness host, in the households of her foes.

Seven months have elapsed since Germany’s practical declaration of war against us; and less than seven months were required by Germany in 1870-71 to conquer France. She needed only as many weeks to conquer Austria. Japan’s efficiency against Russia was as marked.

I do not describe these conditions in order to reproach those responsible for them. I would gladly pass them by in silence, and devote myself exclusively, as I have been doing for the last seven months, to backing up every belated measure for

war efficiency which by any stretch of my conscience I found myself able to champion. But when Mr. Wilson's Administration jauntily expresses "delight" in conditions which are a source of bitter humiliation to every patriotic and reasonably clear-sighted American, when the Administration thus impliedly advocates making our past record the standard for our future conduct, it becomes a matter of imperative obligation upon an honest man to speak out. The task of our government during the last four years in foreign affairs has not been difficult. It has been exceptionally easy and yet it has been wretchedly performed. Our task in this war is not difficult. On the contrary it is exceptionally easy, so easy that we must clearly understand that never again will the conditions be so favorable to wage serious war, and escape the consequences of our blunders and our folly; for never again can we expect other nations to protect us with their armies and fleets while our politicians slowly make ready.

I believe that with our wealth, our population, our immense energy, and extraordinary resources, we will within a year or so after our entry into the war develop such usable strength as to make us a ponderable element in aid of our allies. I believe that by that time we shall be able to defend ourselves with reasonable efficiency if by any mischance the war should come to our own continent. But if we ever fight a formidable foe single-handed, we shall not be granted a year in which to prepare, even inadequately.

One of the most ominous of our shortcomings has been our failure to prepare cargo ships in view of the ever-growing danger from the submarine menace. The submarine has developed into a more formidable offensive than defensive weapon. It has not been able to prevent the transport of great invading armies across the seas, for the toll it takes is too small to be serious as against one such expedition. But the toll continues, month after month; with the result that, as the years continue, it exercises tremendous pressure.

Britain, France, and Italy now need fuel and food; our

armies abroad, as they increase in number, will need food, munitions, reinforcements; the submarines are steadily cutting down the available tonnage of the world; and during these seven months we have done nothing whatever to provide against this mortal danger, either by developing an efficient antisubmarine force or a sufficient number of speedy cargo ships. When, on January 31st last, the German note came, even the blindest of our public servants ought at once to have grasped its significance and begun with the utmost energy to prepare both for warfare against the submarine and also for the output of immense quantities of ships reasonably able to escape from the submarine.

We could have commandeered many ships that were being built. Any number of things could have been done; and nevertheless we are only just getting ready to begin! Ships of the necessary speed could be built only of steel, and only steel ships would be permanently useful; yet the Administration dawdled through month after month, doing nothing save to acquiesce in or abet a squabble started on behalf of wooden-ship interests, and of service only to Germany. General Goethals was admirably fitted to build the ships, if he had been backed as he was backed when he built the Isthmian Canal; but he was not given the backing, and the conditions were made such that he was finally driven from office. We are only now beginning to exert our business energy along this vitally necessary line; we may yet make our position partially good; but our seven months' delay has been unpardonable, and we cannot offset its evil effects—and how evil these effects will be no one can as yet foretell. Think what Germany did to her foes in the first ninety days, in the first thirty days of this war, and you will have an idea of the appalling disaster that will some day befall us unless we turn seriously to the solution of the problem of self-defense.

There is but one such solution. It is the adoption of the principle of universal military training of our young men in advance, in time of peace, with as a corollary the acceptance

of the obligation of universal service in time of war. This is the only democratic system. This is the only efficient system. Acceptance of the principle it involves will automatically result in eliminating during peace-time, instead of waiting until war comes to eliminate, the kind of administration of the War and Navy Departments which has resulted in inefficient submarines, aircraft that could not be sent across the enemy's trenches, and artillery which could not be pitted in battle against the guns of military nations. When the average citizen has received a year's training with the colors on the field he will recoil from our present fatuous acceptances of shams.

It is at present the duty of every good American to do the best he can with the inadequate or imperfect means provided. Let him, if a man of fighting age, do his utmost to get into the fighting line—Red Cross work, Y. M. C. A. work, driving ambulances, and the like, excellent though it all is, should be left to men not of military age or unfit for military service, and to women; young men of vigorous bodies and sound hearts should be left free to do their proper work in the fighting line. A war is primarily won by soldiers; the work of non-soldiers, however valuable, is merely accessory to the primary work of the fighting men.

Let every man volunteer who can; let him volunteer in the army, the navy, the National Guard; let him eagerly serve in the drafted troops if he is drafted. Hundreds of thousands of men have responded to the President's various calls for volunteers; volunteers for the army, for the navy, for the Marine Corps, for the National Guard, for the officers' training camps; and there would have been none of the shortage that has actually occurred if only the right kind of appeal for volunteers had been made and the proper methods of using and developing them had been adopted.

The draft has been admirably administered by General Crowder and is excellent in so far as it recognizes the principle of obligatory service; it is inadequate and unjust in so far as it is treated only as a temporary device, and in so far as it

makes such service "selective," that is, in so far as it requires the haphazard selection of one man to make sacrifices while other men, not entitled to exemption, are relieved of duty at his expense. It is not too late to remedy this. A law should at once be passed making military training universal for our young men, and providing for its immediate application to all the young men between nineteen and twenty-one. In the Civil War three-fourths of the Union soldiers entered the army when they were twenty-one or under.

The officers' training-camps have done invaluable service. They were started by a small group of young men in New York, two years and a half ago; these young men persevered in spite of the cold, discouraging, and sometimes hostile attitude of the Administration; and to Major-General Leonard Wood the credit mainly belongs, for he took hold of the work and put it through and thereby did more than any other one man for our preparedness in advance—and when this war broke out, he was actually punished for this and for other things he had done in the interest of preparing our military strength. Advantage can be taken of these camps only by men of a "college education or its equivalent," who have sufficient means to enable them to stand the expense. Under existing conditions men of less means cannot become officers—whereas, if we had only been already under a system of universal military training the officers would have been chosen in democratic fashion from the best among all the men, rich or poor, who underwent the training.

We are in the war. The shortcomings, due to failure to prepare, and to ill-advised action, must at the moment be treated only as additional spurs to action. We must render service in spite of them. But if we have a shred of common sense we will see to it that hereafter they are not repeated and that our permanent policy is such that we shall be ready for the next war, and not have to trust to somebody else to save us.

We honor the regulars of the army and navy. We honor the National Guardsmen. We honor the men of the training-

camp, and the drafted men whom they are to command and train. But never forget that all these men are now able to fit themselves to render service only because the British and French fleets give us time, for if we had not such protection we should already have been trampled into dust beneath the feet of our foes.

Shame shall be our portion if we rest content with such safety. Shame shall bow the heads of our sons and daughters if we do not prepare in advance so that at any moment we can guard our hearthstones with our own hardened strength.

There is but one effective way in which thus to prepare. Base universal suffrage on the only safe foundation, universal service. Let the man be trained in time of peace to military duty; and let no man vote in the country who is not willing to fight for the country. To make military service in a democracy a matter of individual choice is as unjustifiable as to make obedience to law or the payment of taxes an individual choice.

Let the woman be trained in all the ways that will fit her for her work in peace or war. Give to man and woman equality of right; base the privilege thus secured on the service each must render; and demand from them, not identity of function, but, as a matter of obligation, the full performance of whatever duty each can best perform.

Let every young man, at nineteen or twenty, serve a year in the field. Let all officers be chosen from the best of those who have thus served and who wish the chance to enter the officers' school; this will put rich man and poor man on the same footing. When once this system has begun fairly to function, we shall be ready at any time to repel the attack of any foreign foe who may make war on us; and at the same time by training them in soul, mind, and body, in giving them habits of self-respect, moral and physical cleanliness, respect for the rights of others, self-reliance and obedience, we shall have immeasurably bettered the young men of the nation and have fitted them for the tasks of peace.

Nor should the benefit of such training be confined to young men. In this great war, a war between peoples as well as between armies, the woman has worked in the hospital, in the factory, in the fields, thereby releasing the man for work on the battle-line. Her training in time of peace would render her more fit for such duties, and also more fit to do the peace work of home nursing, home sanitation, and the like. We need in our national life a common, democratic purpose, expressing itself in a sense of heightened social responsibility. Let America adopt for her sons and her daughters the principle of universal training, of universal service; and let her take the lead among nations by making both the training and the service really universal, so that the collective strength of the nation may be used against our foes of peace as well as our foes of war.

So much for our future policy. At this moment our policy should consist in whole-heartedly bending our every effort to win an overwhelming triumph in the war. We are for the time being safe behind the rampart of the British fleet, and of the French and British armies. It is galling thus to owe our safety to others; but let us at least bend all our energies to developing our might so that in our turn we may be able to guarantee safety to ourselves and triumph to our allies. We would not have time to develop our strength were it not for the protection the Allies give us. But they do give it. Therefore we have the opportunity to make use of our gigantic resources. We can, within a year, if only we choose, develop our strength so that we shall be the deciding factor in the war, and develop our intelligent purpose so that we shall refuse to accept any peace not based on the complete overthrow of the Prussianized Germany of the Hohenzollerns. If we do this we shall restore our self-respect, we shall incalculably benefit our children, we shall win a commanding position, and we shall be able to render untold service to ourselves and to our allies. If we do not do this, if we fail to develop and exert our strength to the utmost, if we partly adopt the attitude of the

onlooker, if we let others do the hard, rough, dangerous fighting work, then we shall have betrayed a sacred trust, from the standpoint of America, of heroic and bleeding France, of gallant and suffering Belgium, and of the world at large. In such case we must, when peace comes, stand humbly in the presence of the nations who have really fought. In such case, the world will have been saved, but it will have been saved by England, and not by us. In such case all that we can do will be to thank England for having saved the world—and the peace will be England's peace. Only those who do the job will have a right to the reward in honor and in power. Only if we play a leading part in bringing the war to a close can we expect to make the peace in reality our peace. I honor England for all that she is doing; but I wish us to do as well, for otherwise we shall have no right to be more than a looker-on at England's peace, at the Allies' peace—unless, indeed, in the unbelievable event that our government should make us traitorous to our duty, and secure a base peace which would really be Germany's peace, a peace without victory, a peace welcomed by all the Huns within our gates, by all the pacifists and pro-Germans, by all the shirkers and slackers and soft fools; a peace which would make high-spirited Americans bow their heads with shame. Only if we do our full duty can we make it a joint peace of ourselves and our allies, a peace in which we rightfully have our full say, on an equality with England, France, Russia, Italy. If we aren't going to do the job, then I shall be glad to see it done by England and the rest of the Allies. But I am a good American and therefore I wish to see us do the job ourselves. Rhetoric and boasting won't give us our place in the world. This is the hour of the fighting men and of the other men and the women who stand back of the fighting men, and enable them to fight.

To my fellow Americans I preach the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. In this great war for righteousness, we Americans have a tremendous task ahead of us. I believe the American people are entirely willing to make any sacrifice, and

to render any service, and I believe that they should be explicitly shown how great the service is they are called upon to render, how great the need is that they should unflinchingly face any sacrifice that is made. I ask of you, and I ask of those who govern you—who govern this great mass of people—that we may be given direct practical lines of effort. With all my heart I believe that our people have in them the same patriotism, the same nobility of soul to which Washington and Lincoln were able to appeal. I ask that the appeal be made, the appeal for effort, and with it the guaranty by actual governmental performance that the effort shall not be wasted.

It is through the government that we must do the chief work, of course; but let us also ourselves do individually each his or her own part. Let us help the Red Cross; let us cheerfully accept the draft, and gladly volunteer, if we meet the requirements, and if we are allowed to volunteer. Then in addition let each of us make up his mind willingly and cheerfully to accept any personal hardships that may come, in high taxes, in repeated loans and reduced income. Let us fare more simply, and cut out alcohol; let us show our eager and resolute purpose to key up the industrial and social life of the country to the highest scale of efficiency and accomplishment. We must raise food in abundance. We must speed up our industries. We shall need an enormous provision of supplies; we shall need much concentration and control of the means of production.

If we are to hold our proper place as a great nation, there must be prodigious exertions on the part of this Republic. We are in this war, and we must not make it a half-war. The only proper rule is never to fight at all if you can honorably avoid it, but never under any circumstances to fight in a half-hearted way. When peace comes it must be the peace of complete victory. In winning this victory we must have played a full part—the part of deeds—the deeds of fighting men. We should instantly strain every nerve to make ready millions of

men, and an abundance of all the huge and delicate and formidable and infinitely varied instruments of modern warfare.

We can't achieve our ends by talk—they must be achieved by effort. We can't achieve them unless we act together loyally, and with all our hearts; as Americans and nothing else. We are fighting for humanity, for the right of each well-behaved nation to independence and to whatever form of government it desires; and we are fighting for our own hearthstones and for the honor and the welfare of our children and our children's children. We are fighting against a very efficient and powerful, and an utterly brutal and unscrupulous, enemy. Let us give every man in this country his rights without regard to creed or birthplace, or national origin, or color. Let us in return exact from every man the fullest performance of duty, the fullest loyalty to our flag, and the most resolute effort to serve it.

The test of our worth now is the service we render. Sacrifice? Yes, as an incident of service; but let us think only of the service, not of the sacrifice. There never yet was a service worth rendering that did not entail sacrifice; and no man renders the highest service if he thinks overmuch of the sacrifice.

Let us pay with our bodies for our souls' desire!

THE CHILDREN OF THE CRUCIBLE

WE Americans are the children of the crucible. The crucible does not do its work unless it turns out those cast into it in one national mould; and that must be the mould established by Washington and his fellows when they made us into a nation. We must be Americans; and nothing else. Yet the events of the past three years bring us face to face with the question whether in the present century we are to continue as a separate nation at all or whether we are to become merely a huge polyglot boarding-house and counting-house, in which dollar-hunters of twenty different nationalities scramble for gain, while each really pays his soul-allegiance to some foreign power.

We are now at war with Germany. For three years Germany has heaped insult upon insult, injury upon injury, on our people. We showed a reluctance passing the bounds of ordinary timidity either to resent the insults or to prepare for defense. We feared to resent wrong in the present. We did not even dare to prepare so as to be able effectively to resent wrong in the future. Our supine inaction was partly due to the folly engendered in our people by the professional pacifists. But an even more important factor was the dread many of our politicians felt not merely of the German army abroad but of German votes at home. The cold, greedy selfishness and short-sightedness of our political leaders were indefensible; and were due to the fact that the men who took the lead in the professional German-American movement sought entirely to subordinate the actions of the country of which they were nominally

citizens, the United States, to the needs of the country for which they really cared, Germany.

Now we are at open war with Germany; yet many of these persons—supported of course by the professional pacifists—continue to champion Germany's cause as against the cause for which we are fighting. This is moral treason to the Republic, and all who engage in it, whether senators, congressmen, editors, or professed humanitarians, are in fact, although not in law, traitors, who have no right longer to be treated as American citizens. The time has come to insist that they now drop their dual allegiance, and in good faith become outright Germans or outright Americans. They cannot be both; and those who pretend that they are both, are merely Germans who hypocritically pretend to be Americans in order to serve Germany and damage America. At the moment, the vital thing to remember about these half-hidden traitors is that to attack America's allies, while we are at death grips with a peculiarly ruthless and brutal foe, or to champion that foe as against our allies, or to apologize for that foe's infamous wrong-doing, or to clamor for an early and inconclusive peace, is to be false to the cause of liberty and to the United States.

In this war, either a man is a good American, and therefore is against Germany, and in favor of the allies of America, or he is not an American at all, and should be sent back to Germany where he belongs. There are no stancher Americans in the country than the average Americans who are in whole or in part of German descent; and all these are as stanchly against Germany now as the Americans of English descent were against Great Britain in 1776. I speak of them with knowledge; for German blood runs in my own veins. But the American of German descent who remains a German or a half-German is not an American at all; and a large number of the men of this type are dangerous traitors who ought instantly to be sent out of the country. These men work steadily against America in the company of the native-American pro-

fessional pacifists, and the pro-German Socialists, and all the anti-English foreigners. Some of these pro-German and anti-American leaders have been advocating that men of German descent should not be required to serve in our armies against Germany. This is precisely as if in the Revolutionary War it had been proposed that men of English descent should not serve against England. Such a proposal should be regarded as treasonable, and all men making it should be treated accordingly.

Many of these German sympathizers, of these foes of the United States (including not only men of German descent but men of Irish descent whose blind hatred of England makes them disloyal to America, and men of native origin, who are conscienceless politicians or who are pacifists or denationalized and therefore thoroughly unpatriotic), fear openly to assail our country; and therefore they serve our country's enemies effectively by assailing England, by endeavoring to keep us from effective co-operation with the Allies, or by condoning and defending such acts of barbarity as the Zeppelin raids on English cities and the murderous assaults on ships crowded with innocent non-combatants.

In the Revolutionary War France was our ally. Fifteen years before she had been our bitter enemy. Therefore certain Tories endeavored to harm the American cause by reviving the old anti-French animosities. They acted precisely as the men act who to-day seek to harm the United States and help our ruthless and bitter enemy, Germany, by reviving the old anti-British enmity. Any man who during the Revolution stated that although he favored the United States against England nevertheless he also favored England against France, was really a traitor to America. Any man who now announces that although he favors the United States against Germany yet he favors Germany against England is a traitor to America. There can be no half-and-half attitude in this war, and no honorable man can afford to take such an attitude. We are now bound by every consideration of loyalty and good faith

to our allies, and any opposition to them or any aid given to their and our enemy is basely dishonorable as regards our allies, and treasonable as regards our own country.

Weak-kneed apologists for infamy say that it is "natural" for American citizens of German origin to favor Germany. This is nonsense, and criminal nonsense to boot. Any American citizen who thus feels should be sent straight back to Germany, where he belongs. We can have no "fifty-fifty" allegiance in this country. Either a man is an American and nothing else, or he is not an American at all. We are akin by blood and descent to most of the nations of Europe; but we are separate from all of them; we are a new and distinct nation, and we are bound always to give our whole-hearted and undivided loyalty to our own flag, and in any international crisis to treat each and every foreign nation purely according to its conduct in that crisis.

This is a new nation, based on a mighty continent, of boundless possibilities. No other nation in the world has such resources. No other nation has ever been so favored. If we dare to rise level to the opportunities offered us, our destiny will be vast beyond the power of imagination. We must master this destiny, and make it our own; and we can thus make it our own only if we, as a vigorous and separate nation, develop a great and wonderful nationality, distinctively different from any other nationality, of either the present or the past. For such a nation all of us can well afford to give up all other allegiances, and high of heart to stand, a mighty and united people, facing a future of glorious promise.

This nation was founded because the Americans of 1776, although predominately English by blood, fought their own kinsmen to establish their liberty and to make this nation the hope of the world. Again, over a century ago, our forefathers once more fought England; and the men in this country who were of English blood stood with absolute loyalty by America and against England. It is not merely our right but our duty to insist on exactly the same full-hearted loyalty by all Amer-

icans of other descent, whenever we are at war with the countries from which their ancestors came. We are now at war with Germany. The offenses committed against the men of 1776 by King George and the England of his day were as nothing compared to the crimes committed against us and against all civilization and humanity by the brutalized Germany of the Hohenzollerns during the last three years. There must be the same unhesitating loyalty shown now, by every American fit to call himself an American, as was shown in the days of our forefathers, when Paul Revere's ride and the fight of the minutemen at Lexington called the country to arms.

The obligation of single-minded Americanism has two sides—one as important as the other. On the one hand, every man of foreign birth or parentage must in good faith become an American and nothing else; for any man who tries to combine loyalty to this country with loyalty to some other country inevitably, when the strain arises, becomes disloyal to this country—he who is not with us is against us.

On the other hand, if a man in good faith, in soul and in body, becomes an American, he stands on a full and entire equality with everybody else, and must be so treated, without any mental reservation, without any regard to his creed, or birthplace, or descent. One obligation is just as binding as the other. It is both weak and wicked to permit any of our citizens to hold a dual or divided allegiance; and it is just as mischievous, just as un-American, to discriminate against any good American, because of his birthplace, creed, or parentage.

Let us immediately and practically apply these principles in the present crisis. A former member of my Cabinet, who was born in Germany and who does not profess my religious creed, but who is in every way precisely as good an American as I am, has sent me cuttings from the *New York Times* which contain extracts from statements issued by the United States Government to the Red Cross societies, in which the Red Cross units and hospital units intended for service at the base hos-

pitals abroad are directed to exclude from service not merely American citizens born in Germany or Austria-Hungary but even Americans whose fathers were born in those countries. I most emphatically protest against such discrimination. It represents the kind of attack on loyalty which tends actually to encourage disloyalty.

There have been instances of misconduct on the part of Germans in American hospital or Red Cross units; but this was due to the fact that our government was then unduly influenced by fear of the German Government abroad or of the German vote at home, and so dared not act in the drastic manner necessary. Now it swings to the opposite extreme and offsets its former fear of punishing German offenders by failure in the present to guard the rights and the self-respect of loyal Americans of German origin.

If I had been permitted to raise the four divisions of troops for service abroad which Congress gave me permission to raise, among the regular officers whom I would have recommended for command of the divisions and brigades would have been General Kuhn, the present head of the War College, and Colonel Bandholtz, who, when I was President, served as chief of constabulary in the Philippines; and I would have counted myself happy to have served under either. Of the regular officers whom I had chosen to recommend as colonels of various regiments in the division were four of German parentage or descent. Among the few men not in the Regular Army whom I should have recommended for colonelcies, one, a National Guard colonel, from Chicago, is of German parentage, and he informed me that of the troops he would raise in Chicago probably eighty-five per cent would be of foreign parentage. My headquarters chaplain would have been a retired army officer, who was born in Germany—a man not of my religious faith. He is as good a citizen and as thoroughly an American of the best type as is to be found anywhere in this land. My brigade quartermaster-general would have been a man of German parentage. Now, if I had been

permitted to take these men abroad to fight, I would have tolerated no discrimination from any source or of any kind between the Americans of Revolutionary stock and the Americans of foreign birth or parentage; and in return I would have demanded of all of them, with absolute disregard of all considerations of national origin, an undivided and whole-hearted allegiance to the one flag that floats over all of us.

What is true of military life is true of civil life. The man who for the past fifteen years has been my closest political friend, and who is also one of my closest personal friends, is of German parentage, as is his wife—and the fathers of both of them were Union soldiers in the Civil War. They are both of them exactly as good Americans as I am. If they don't "belong," then I don't "belong." In my Cabinet, when I was President, sat a descendant of one of Blücher's colonels. Some of the best books written about our duty in this war have been written by men who are, in whole or in part, of German blood—James Beck, Owen Wister, Gustavus Ohlinger, and Hermann Hagedorn.

I have just received a letter from one of my old captains of the Spanish War, a man born in Germany, running in part: "I can stand as much now as I could in the Spanish War, and I am ready and anxious to go whenever you say; as matters now are, every American citizen must stand by his country, and any one that is not willing to do so should not be tolerated here." One of the naturalists who was with me in my South African exploration is now in our volunteer army with an officer's commission; his father was born in Germany. One of the naturalists who was with me in Africa (a joint author with me of a scientific book on the big game of Africa), a man who is now on a trip of scientific exploration in China, was born here of German parents. He has recently written me: "We have just learned that America has finally declared war on Germany. This good news has restored our hopes for our country and its manhood. I hope that America will make the declaration more than a matter of 'moral support'

and will succeed by force of arms in materially shortening the task of subduing Germany and Austria and Turkey even at this apparently eleventh hour of the great struggle."

There spoke the true American spirit! These three men are Americans, precisely as I am; they are not German-Americans any more than I am a Dutch-American or an Anglo-American. We are all of us Americans, and nothing else; we all have equal rights and equal obligations; we form part of one people, in the face of all other nations, paying allegiance only to one flag; and a wrong to any one of us is a wrong to all the rest of us.

The men of whom I speak, and countless others like them, represent the best and most intense Americanism; they teach and they practise the highest service, and the most patriotic devotion to our common country, in the face of no matter what foreign foe; they are fit to guide our thoughts and rule our councils in peace and to lead our armies in war. Any one of these men who are born here, no matter where their ancestors were born, may become President; all are liable to serve in our armies; and yet our government permits them to be excluded from service with the Red Cross. It is a base and unworthy thing for any section of our people, and above all for our government, to discriminate, or permit even the slightest discrimination, against these, our fellow Americans. They "belong," exactly as much as the rest of us do. We are one; and we will tolerate no effort to divide us.

So much for one side of our twofold duty. Now for the other side. The men who enjoy the privileges of American citizenship, and yet seek in any way to serve some other nation which is hostile to us, are guilty of moral treason to the Republic. If possible, the government should act against them; if not, then they should be made to feel the full weight of the sternest condemnation by the people as a whole. Germany is now our bitter and envenomed foe. She has repeatedly and brutally murdered our women and children and defenseless men. She has proposed to join with Mexico and Japan to dis-

member us. Her publicists and newspaper writers back up, with foul abuse and untruthfulness, the efficient brutality which her military men have exercised at our expense and at the expense of the tortured and heroic people of Belgium and of northern France. Whoever now upholds or justifies Germany is an enemy of the United States. Recently certain public men and newspapers—newspapers published in German and newspapers published in English—have sought to apologize for such German infamies as the submarine war against non-combatants, and the destruction of undefended and peaceful cities, by saying that we would behave in like manner if we had the opportunity. The infamous falsity of such accusations is shown by the history of our Civil War, in which the most intense and bitter excitement of passion never betrayed the combatants on either side into for one moment permitting such organized atrocities as those of which the Germans have been guilty. Turn to Emerson's "Life of Charles Russell Lowell," the nephew of the poet Lowell; read his letter to the War Department of June 26, 1863, in which he condemns the burning of a deserted town, and says that to permit "burning and pillaging" will turn the troops into a "horde of savages"; and then think of the fury of indignation this typical American officer would have shown over the hideous atrocities committed in Louvain and Dinant and hundreds of other places in Belgium and northern France. The deed he condemned was by comparison so slight that to-day the wretched victims of the German army would treat it as a mercy. Or contrast the brutality shown toward women and children on the *Lusitania* and scores of other ships, by the officially directed German submarines, with the *Alabama's* action fifty years previous; Semmes never destroyed a vessel without providing for the safety of the passengers and crew; he turned his own officers out of their cabins to put in them the women and children of his foes; and once when he had seven hundred prisoners, and a prize, the *Ariel*, he actually permitted them to go in freedom on the vessel rather than send them to a near-

by port when he found that there was yellow fever in this port. Compare these actions with the methodical and organized brutality of the German military authorities in this war; and then brand with shame the American traitors who seek to aid Germany by asserting that we, if given the chance, would be guilty of atrocities like those she has committed.

The American citizens who traitorously preach such doctrines sometimes preach them in the English tongue, sometimes in the German. Those who use the former are the more despicable; but those who use the latter are the more dangerous because the great bulk of their loyal fellow citizens are ignorant of the speech in which they write treason. The events of the last few years have made it evident that in this country we should not only refuse to tolerate a divided allegiance but also that we should insist on one speech. We must have in this country but one flag, the American flag, and for the speech of the people but one language, the English language. There is no analogy with the European countries where different nationalities of different tongues have coalesced or been conquered, and where therefore it is an injustice not to replace the Greater Bohemia, the greater Jugo-Slavia, the old-time Poland, the old-time Lithuania in the ranks of self-governing countries, each with its own speech. But any man who comes here, whether he be a German, a Slav, an Italian, a man from the British Islands or the Scandinavian countries, or any one else, if he becomes a citizen at all either commits perjury or else becomes an American, and only an American, and specifically forswears all allegiance to his former country and its ruler. Either he has committed perjury, or else he has ceased to be a German, or an Englishman, or an Irishman, or a Slav, or a Frenchman, and has become an American, and only an American. He must adopt the institutions of the United States, and therefore he must adopt the language which is now the native tongue of our people, no matter what the several strains of blood in our veins may be. It would be not merely a misfortune but a crime to perpetuate

differences of language in this country, for it would mean failure on our part to become in reality a nation. Many of the newspapers published in foreign tongues are of high character and have done and are doing capital work, by helping the immigrants who speak these tongues during the transition period before they become citizens. These papers deserve hearty recognition for their work. But it must be recognized as transition work, and therefore its usefulness must be recognized as conditioned upon its finally coming to an end. This is as true of the use of a foreign language in schools and churches as in newspapers. I belong to the Dutch Reformed Church; it is now an entirely American church; yet when my grandfather was a young man, the services were still conducted in Dutch, and until this practice was stopped the church dwindled. Exactly as we must have but one flag, so we should have but one tongue, the tongue of the Declaration of Independence, of Washington's Farewell Address, of Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech and Second Inaugural.

The *Cologne Gazette* of June 10 brazenly declares that the German-Americans of the United States are the "best allies" of Germany against the United States, and rejoices in the fact that these German-Americans "embarrass and restrain" us in the war. The German-American Alliance stands among the foremost of the organizations which have thus worked against the interests of the United States; and the most prominent German newspapers in New York and Chicago during the last three years, at the time of the *Lusitania* infamy and since, have richly deserved the ominous and sinister praise of the *Cologne Gazette* and the other organs of the German autocracy. The German-American organizations and newspapers have served Germany against the United States. They seek to embarrass and restrain our government so as to bring victory for Germany over the United States. They may have kept within the law, but they have been guilty of moral treason against the Republic.

The Philadelphia *North American*, with equal courage and

patriotism, has called to account the German newspapers of Philadelphia, which have shown similar disloyalty to the Republic. It conducted an investigation into the matter these German newspapers had been publishing; the investigation, by the way, being made by Mr. Einar Barfod, an American of Scandinavian birth, but just as straight an American as exists—and as he writes in English his fellow Americans can understand him. *The North American* proved that the German papers in question were in effect behaving as enemies of the United States in this war, sneering at and misrepresenting our country, and violently attacking our allies, especially England, and praising and upholding Germany and the Kaiser in extravagant terms. The worst offender was a Socialist paper. This was natural; for the German Socialists in the United States, who for years have been the leaders in the American Socialist party, have in this war shown themselves not only disloyal to the United States but traitors to humanity and to democracy, and tools of the unscrupulous militaristic autocracy of the Hohenzollerns. The censor at Washington should deal with such a paper and not leave the matter to *The North American*.

These German papers of course like to quote Americans of the stamp of Senator La Follette who in this great crisis stand as hostile to the cause of the American people and of liberty-loving mankind, occupying a position like that which the Vallandighams of the Civil War occupied in relation to the cause of the Union. During this war we should not permit the publication in the United States of any German paper, or any paper published in the tongue of any of our enemies.

I condemn these men. But I condemn more strongly the foes of our own household who, for political reasons, or from sheer, easy-going, selfish inertness, have encouraged or acquiesced in what they have done. Prior to the war, ignorance or lack of foresight in this matter was perhaps excusable. But since the outbreak of the war the action of the German Government and the action of the German-Americans, who,

whether for hire or for other reasons, in this country played the game of Germany, have been so flagrantly evil that to be ignorant of them was impossible, and to fail to denounce them was explicable only on the ground of folly, cowardice, or moral obliquity.

The actions of the agents of Germany in this country have ranged from seditious propaganda to attacks by dynamite on property and murderous assaults on life. They were accurately described by President Wilson in his message to Congress of December 7, 1915, as follows:

"There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags . . . who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life; who have sought to bring the authority and good name of our government into contempt, to destroy our industries wherever they thought it effective for their vindictive purposes to strike at them, and to debase our politics to the purposes of foreign intrigue . . . such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out . . . they are infinitely malignant . . . they have formed plots to destroy property, they have entered into conspiracies against the neutrality of the government, they have sought to pry into every confidential transaction of the government in order to serve interests alien to our own."

Having thus spoken of the German spies, dynamiters, and murderers in this country, the President proceeded to state that they were no worse than the Americans whose judgment and sense of honorable obligation made them sympathize with Belgium and the Allies, in contrast with the Germany which had employed the spies, dynamiters, and murderers against the United States. He said that "every man" should "make it his duty and his pride to keep the scales of judgment even and prove himself a partisan of no nation but his own." He continued by reprobating the "men among us" who although "calling themselves Americans have so far forgotten themselves and their honor as citizens as to put their paramount sym-

pathy with one or the other side in the great European conflict above their regard for the peace . . . of the United States. They also preach and practise disloyalty. No laws, I suppose, can reach corruption of the mind and heart; but I should not speak of others without also speaking of these and expressing the even deeper humiliation and scorn which every self-possessed and thoughtfully patriotic American must feel when he thinks of them and of the discredit they are daily bringing upon us."

This was a carefully prepared, deliberately phrased official message to Congress. When the message was written the war had lasted for over sixteen months. It was precisely as much a war "to make the world safe for democracy" then as it is now; unless this statement was true at that time it was a mere rhetorical flourish, an untruth, sixteen months later. Every cause alleged as a reason for our going to war against Germany sixteen months later existed then. Seven months had elapsed since the sinking of the *Lusitania*; and the sinkings of other passenger and freight ships, with the attendant murders of innocent non-combatants, including scores of American women and children, had continued month by month. The hideous nature of the German outrages in Belgium, Servia, Poland, and northern France had been officially established and made known to every human being who was not wilfully blind to the truth. The various outrages by German spies and dynamiters in the United States, and the intrigues of the Germans against this government, were due to the direct action of the German Government, usually working through the German embassy in Washington; this was known to every government official from the President down, and was so self-evident that no reasonably intelligent and well-informed private citizen was ignorant of the truth.

It was under these conditions that the head of our government officially declared that the American citizen who declined "to keep the scales of judgment even" between tortured Belgium and the Germany that wronged and tortured her was

guilty of "corruption of the mind and heart," which put him on the same plane of "disloyalty" with the other "citizens of the United States" who were "creatures of anarchy" and "sought to destroy our industries," by dynamite, with murder as an incident. The head of our government officially declared on behalf of the American people that the Americans who, after the murder by Germany of hundreds of innocent American men, women, and children on the *Lusitania* and other boats, expressed passionate sympathy "against" Germany without "regard for the peace of the United States" were causes of "even deeper humiliation and scorn" to "thoughtfully patriotic" persons than were the German spies, intriguers, and murderers themselves. Incidentally, of course, if these Americans who stood for America and Belgium and against Germany in December, 1915, were at that time proper subjects for "scorn and humiliation," and were guilty of "corruption of the mind and heart" and of "disloyalty," then every American who took part in or approved and supported our going to war in April, 1916, was similarly guilty of corruption and disloyalty, and equally a subject for humiliation and scorn. Neither the situation nor the duty of America had changed in the smallest degree during the intervening sixteen months.

This address apparently at the time met the approval of most politicians, and there was little adverse criticism of it; and therefore we, the American people, became responsible for the doctrine that the German spies, intriguers, and dynamiters were no worse than the men who sympathized with the wrongs of Belgium, or jeopardized "peace" by demanding action against Germany on account of the *Lusitania* horror. It is axiomatic that to condemn, equally, good and bad actions is completely to destroy all effect of the condemnation of the bad. The net result of the conduct of the American politicians—which was not repudiated by the American people—was really to encourage Germany and her German-American allies in their campaign against the United States, and to discourage and dishearten the great mass of American citizens of Ger-

man blood who needed only fearless official leadership in order to make them the most effective of all possible instruments against the disloyal German propaganda. We Americans must ourselves shoulder the major share of the responsibility for the effectiveness of this pro-German and anti-American movement within our own borders.

Here again it would not be worth while mentioning the evil we have done in the past were it not necessary to do so in order by concrete example to warn us against its repetition in the future. Unless we realize the full menace of the wrong we have done humanity, and the danger we have caused ourselves by our course as a nation during the last three years, we cannot in the future provide against a repetition of such wrong-doing by our governmental leaders. It is we, ourselves, who during these trials have—among other things—done most to puzzle our citizens of foreign birth as to the real meaning of their “true faith and allegiance.”

Not only must we as a people never again permit such conduct among our political leaders as that which has signalized our attitude in international and preparedness matters during the last three years; but we must hereafter adopt an affirmative instead of a merely negative attitude toward the stranger within our gates who has come here to become a citizen or merely to make a fortune and return to his former home. We should exercise the strictest control over, and wherever necessary entirely exclude, the transitory laborer who does not intend to become a citizen. As for those who do intend to become citizens, *we should consider them primarily as possible citizens and parents of future citizens.* We cannot have too many of the right type—the type that is right morally, physically, and economically—and we should have none at all of the wrong type. We should never admit any merely because there is “need of labor”; better run short of labor than foul or dilute the body of citizenship into which our children are to enter. In practice it is not easy to apply exactly the proper tests; but fundamentally our aim should be to admit only

immigrants whose grandchildren will be fit to intermarry with our grandchildren, with the grandchildren of the Americans of to-day.

We wish no further additions to the persons whose affection for this country is merely a species of pawnbroker patriotism, of pork-barrel patriotism. In so far as these are native Americans, let us strive to get rid of them; and let us not add to them by the importation from abroad of persons whose coming here represents nothing but the purpose to change one feeding-trough for another feeding-trough. We should guarantee to the newcomer his rights, and we should exact from him the full performance of his duties.

We should provide for every immigrant, by day-schools for the young and night-schools for the adult, the chance to learn English; and if after, say, five years he has not learned English, he should be sent back to the land from whence he came. We should have a system of labor exchanges and employment bureaus which will enable us to distribute the immigrants to the places where they are most needed and can do most for their own advancement. We should protect them from fraud and rapacity.

And having thus protected them we should demand full performance of duty from them. Every man of them should be required to serve a year with the colors, like our native-born youth, before being allowed to vote. Nothing would do more to make him feel an American among his fellow Americans, on an equality of rights, of duties, and of loyalty to the flag.

There is no truth more important than the truth that it is the performance of duty toward the Commonwealth, and not the enjoyment of unearned privilege from the Commonwealth, that breeds loyalty, devotion, patriotism. In a family, the father and mother who fail to rear their sons and daughters to recognize and perform their duties neither receive nor deserve the loyal devotion felt for the heads of the household where the whole household is trained to put duty ahead of pleasure. It is exactly the same with a nation.

We have believed that we would get devotion to our country from immigrants who came here merely to make money and escape meeting obligations. The belief was ill-founded. The man who feels that the country owes him everything and that he owes the country nothing, will pay the country just what he thinks he owes—nothing. It is a curious fact that many Germans who came here to avoid military service, and who while here have had to do nothing they did not care to do, yet as soon as the strain came, felt all their loyalty toward the country which exacted much from its citizens, and none at all for the country which expected nothing from its citizens.

The wisest and quickest way to Americanize the immigrant is to make him understand that here in America we have at last waked up to our needs, and that henceforth every man, whether born here or abroad, owes this country the fullest service of body and of soul.

WASHINGTON AND LINCOLN: THE GREAT EXAMPLES

THERE is nothing sillier and more mischievous than to dull the conscience with lofty sentiments which cloak ignoble failure to perform duty; or to praise the great men of the past for what they did in the past and yet refuse to act in similar fashion in the present.

Lip-loyalty to Washington and Lincoln costs nothing and is worth just exactly what it costs. What counts is the application of their principles to the conditions of to-day. Whoever is too proud to fight, whoever believes that there are times when it is not well to arouse the spirit of patriotism, whoever demands peace without victory, whoever regards the demand for ample preparedness as hysterical, whoever attacks conscription and the draft or fails to uphold universal, obligatory military service, is false to the teachings and lives of Washington and Lincoln. Whoever seeks office, or upholds a candidate for office, on the ground that he "kept us out of war," without regard to whether the honor and vital interests of the nation and of mankind demand the war, is treacherous to the principles of Washington and Lincoln; *they* did not "keep us out of war," and they never sought or accepted office on a platform which they cynically repudiated when once they had secured office. The professional pacifist, who exalts peace above righteousness, is not only a traitor to the memory of the two greatest Americans, but has no claim to have any part in governing or in voting in the nation which one founded and the other preserved.

Washington's career, taken as a whole, and considering all that he did as soldier and statesman during his twenty years

of leadership in American public life, probably placed him on an even higher level of great achievement than Lincoln. But he lacked Lincoln's marvellous power of expression. In his case it is the deeds alone to which we must generally look. In Lincoln's case we consider both the deeds and the winged and deathless words which he translated into deeds.

Yet, just because Washington never spoke a word which he did not make good by an act, and always acted with serene, far-sighted wisdom and entire fearlessness, there are teachings of his which should be forever engraved on our hearts. No American should ever forget Washington's insistence upon the absolute necessity of preserving the Union; his appeals to our people that they should cherish the American nationality as something indestructible from within and as separating us in clear-cut manner from all other nations; his stern refusal to yield to the tyranny of either an individual or a mob, and his demand that we seek both liberty and order as indispensable to the life of a democratic republic; and his unwearied persistence in preaching the great truth that military preparedness is essential to our self-respect and usefulness, and that the only way to prepare for war is to prepare in time of peace. But it is worse than useless to praise these as abstract truths and to fail to apply them to present instances. Every public man who after the August day in 1914 when the Great War broke out, failed at once to do all in his power to prepare this nation on a gigantic scale for the danger looming in our immediate front was blind and deaf to the writings and warnings of Washington and was recreant to his duty to the Republic; and so were all the apologists and upholders of such a man.

Washington's Farewell Address contains advice which is permanently applicable. At the time when the address was written a violent faction of his countrymen were endeavoring to secure the submission of the United States to the outrages and insults of Revolutionary and Directorial France by appealing to and inflaming the American antipathy to England. Wash-

ington's Address condemned the effort thus to make hatred of England blind us to our duty to the United States as follows: "Nothing is more essential (to a free, enlightened, and great nation) than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations . . . be excluded. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred . . . is in some degree a slave." This applies with even greater force to the sinister enemies of our country who at this moment endeavor to serve German brutality at the expense of the United States and of humanity at large by stirring up antipathy to England. When Washington wrote his address he was separated by but sixteen years from that winter camp at Valley Forge in which, under his leadership, the manhood of democratic and liberty-loving America stood its supreme test. We are separated from it by a century and a quarter. He had faced the British bullets. The anti-English agitators of to-day shriek against England in complete personal safety. The England of his day was still hostile to the United States. The England of our day has been friendly to the United States for half a century. The men who at this crisis try in any way to stir up our people against Britain are traitors to the United States. Some of them are the paid agents of America's malignant foe, Germany. The rest, whether from folly or wickedness, are playing Germany's game. No man is a true American who hates another country more than he loves his own.

What is true of the teachings of Washington and Lincoln as regards our international relations is no less true of their teachings as regards affairs within our own household.

It has been the fashion among some well-meaning but crude extremists to contrast Lincoln as a radical with Washington as a conservative. This is a shallow misreading of the facts. Each was the conservative leader of the efficient radicalism of his time. In each case the radicalism became efficient only because such leadership was furnished. It would have been absurd to expect either to be a radical about matters which in

his time were not yet in real existence. To the Bourbons of his own day, to the Tories or the copperheads, each seemed the most dangerous of radicals; and when necessary, as in the crises of 1776, and 1862-63, each took the extreme radical position. But by the extremists, whether visionary or sinister, each was denounced as a reactionary—the sympathizers with license and disorganization taking this position about Washington from 1789 to the day of his death, just as the extreme radicals in Missouri and elsewhere took the same position about Lincoln in 1864. To use the terminology of to-day each preferred an attitude of liberalism rather than radicalism until the arrogant obscurantism of the reactionaries themselves—George III in one case, the slaveocracy in the other—made radicalism imperative. When this became evident, neither one hesitated to cut loose from the trimmers and half-way men and unfalteringly to lead the effective fight against Bourbonism; and of course each then practised a constructive, and not merely a destructive, radicalism.

Lincoln was always against slavery, but until the upholders of slavery, in 1854, became violently aggressive, he stood by Clay and Webster and against the abolitionists; and at first he remained a Whig, not becoming a Republican for several months after the formation of the party. He upheld Clay's compromise measures. He took Webster's position on the fugitive-slave law—it is one of the melancholy ironies of history that the very men who abandoned and frantically denounced Webster for taking this position, later turned ardently to Lincoln, who had also taken it and who did not change from his position until the Civil War had begun. During the Civil War the radicals of the Wade-Davis type denounced him almost as bitterly as the conservatives who followed Seymour or Vallandigham; and the extremists among them nominated a presidential candidate against him.

Yet Lincoln was a great radical. He was of course a wise and cautious radical—otherwise he could have done nothing for the forward movement. But he was the efficient leader

of this forward movement. To-day many well-meaning men who have permitted themselves to fossilize, to become mere ultraconservative reactionaries, to reject and oppose all progress, but who still pay a conventional and perfunctory homage to Lincoln's memory, will do well to remember exactly what it was for which this great conservative leader of radicalism actually stood.

Much of what he said applies, with only a change of names, to the conditions of our own time.

In October, 1854, when it was objected that the course he advocated included some action demanded by the Northern abolitionists, and other action demanded by the Southern disunionists, to both of whom he had been opposed, he answered:¹ "Stand with anybody that stands right. Stand with him while he is right and part with him when he goes wrong. Stand with the abolitionist in restoring the Missouri Compromise and stand against him in attempting to repeal the fugitive-slave law. In the latter case you stand with the Southern disunionist. What of that? You are still right. In both cases you are right. In both cases you oppose the dangerous extremes. In both you stand on middle ground and hold the ship steady and level. In both you are national and nothing less than national. To desert such ground because of any company is to be less than a man—less than an American." And he remarked of those who took the opposite view that he must be allowed "to tell them, good-humoredly," that their course was "very silly."

In precisely similar fashion to-day we find conservatives objecting to some piece of wise legislation because it is demanded by the Socialists, and radicals objecting to some piece of wise legislation of another kind, because it is looked upon favorably by Wall Street. In Lincoln's words we must be allowed good-humoredly to say that both attitudes are very silly—equally so whether we always oppose the Socialists or always oppose Wall Street. In one case we uphold what the

¹I omit the sentence addressed merely to his fellow Whigs.—T. R.

Socialists demand, in the other case what Wall Street favors. In Lincoln's words: "What of it? We are still right. In both cases we are right."

In August, 1863, Lincoln dealt with the questions of peace and war and the means necessary to make war a success. To his critics, who put peace above national salvation secured through war, he said: "You desire peace and you blame me that we do not have it. But how can we attain it? There are but three conceivable ways. First, to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. This I am trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far we are agreed. If you are not for it, a second way is to give up the Union. I am against this. Are you for it? If so, you should say so plainly." He then pointed out that the third method, a "compromise," was impossible because "no paper compromise" could "affect the (enemy's) army" and it was this army, this military strength of the enemy, which dominated the situation and which could not be affected by any "convention" of "peace men"—because nothing that such a peace convention could do would "keep (the enemy's) army out of Pennsylvania." The professional pacifists, the neo-copperheads of to-day, must either repudiate Lincoln or accept these words as their own condemnation. Make the terms as general as the truth they express, thereby applying them to any just war; and Lincoln says that he is opposed to the surrender of vital national rights, that he believes in maintaining these rights by force of arms, that peace (for which he so earnestly prayed) can be obtained only by armed strength backing right, and that no action by any "convention of peace men" can keep a European army out of New York or an Asiatic army out of San Francisco.

He is just as explicit in upholding the principle of obligatory universal military service (the draft) as compared with purely voluntary service. He of course heartily approved the volunteers who volunteered to fight, and he used them with efficiency during the first years of the war—for otherwise the war would have been lost. But he had no patience with the

volunteers who volunteered to stay at home, and when these became too numerous he refused to "waste time" by further "experimenting" with the "volunteer system" which had been shown to be "inadequate." He wrote that the men who had refused to volunteer should now be subject to "the principle of . . . involuntary or enforced service," so as to make them do what their "manly brethren" had already done; saying of the latter: "Their toil and blood has been given as much for you as for themselves. Shall it all be lost rather than that you, too, will bear your part? . . . The principle of enforced service (has) been used in establishing our independence . . . shall we shrink from the necessary means to maintain our free government, which our grandfathers employed to establish it and our own fathers have already employed once to maintain it? Are we degenerate? Has the manhood of our race run out?"

One of Washington's earliest acts as President was to submit to Congress a plan for universal obligatory military training and service; and all those who now oppose such a plan deserve the scorn which Lincoln expressed for the men who opposed the plan in his day. The men who were too proud to fight he dismissed as degenerates, whose manhood had run out. To those who desired peace without victory he answered that in order to secure a just and lasting peace he would if necessary continue the war until all the wealth piled up by the bondsman's two hundred years of unrequited toil should be sunk and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash had been paid by another drawn with the sword.

In Lincoln's time wise radicals treated the preservation of the Union and the destruction of slavery as paramount over and precedent to all questions of social and individual betterment; exactly as wise radicals to-day treat the questions of Americanism—true Nationalism—and thoroughgoing preparedness for defense as dwarfing all others. But incidentally Lincoln expressed himself now and then on these social and industrial questions, and always in a spirit of sane but thor-

oughgoing and intense democracy. He as emphatically stated that the people were "the rightful masters of both congresses and courts" as any Progressive of 1912; and, in like spirit, he showed that this attitude was accompanied by entire respect for the courts and their authority. But it is as regards human rights and property rights, the rights of labor and the rights of capital, that his example is especially instructive.

In 1859 Lincoln announced as the true doctrine that "the rights of property" are secondary to the "personal rights of men," and that he was "for both the man and the dollar, but in case of conflict, the man before the dollar"; and he added the pregnant sentence: "He who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves." This applied to black slavery then. It applies now to any wealthy corporation which fails to respect and preserve and encourage all the manhood rights of its workers and to treat them as partners; and it no less applies to any powerful labor-union which shows brutality or insolent disregard for equity in dealing with the rights of any of our citizens.

Lincoln had a seriously thought-out philosophy about the rights of capital and the rights of labor, which he developed before he was President, and to which he held throughout his presidency. In 1859 and 1860 he formulated these views on several occasions. His radicalism had not a touch of Marxian Socialism. He repeatedly and explicitly approved of protection for capital, and insisted that a "certain relation" between it and labor "rightfully existed." His words were, "That men who are industrious and sober and honest in the pursuit of their own interests should after a while accumulate capital, and also if they should choose when they have accumulated it, to use it to save themselves from actual labor, and hire other people to labor for them, is right," and again: "It is best for all to leave each man free to acquire property as fast as he can. Some will get wealthy. I do not believe in a law to prevent men from getting rich; it would do more

harm than good. So while we do not propose any war upon capital we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with every one else." But he regarded the laboring man as the normal man and the interests of labor as supreme, saying: "Labor is prior to and independent of capital; labor can exist without capital, but capital could never have existed without labor. Labor is the superior—greatly the superior—of capital." In line with this view he declares that "Henceforth educated people must labor. Otherwise education itself would become an intolerable evil"; and he especially holds up to admiration a community of highly skilled, educated soil-tillers, able each of them to derive a comfortable subsistence from his own intelligent, thorough work in the intensive cultivation of a small farm. "Such a community," says Lincoln, "will be alike independent of crowned kings, money kings, and land kings."

When he became President his convictions if anything strengthened. In his view, as he expressed it in his special message to Congress on July 4, 1861, the war was "essentially a people's contest . . . (for) the rights of men and the authority of the people . . . for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders; to clear the paths of lawful pursuit for all; to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life." Five months later, in his regular message to Congress, he repeated what he had said before he was President: "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Labor is the superior of capital and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights." He continued by stating that "there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits"; but insisted that there were only a few capitalists, and a few men who labored for capitalists, but that the large majority of the people neither worked for others nor had others working for them—a statement

not even then as broadly true as he made it, and much less so now; and he went on to praise "the just, generous, and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement of condition to all," and he then singled out for special praise "those who toil up from poverty" as eminently disinclined "to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned"—a statement certainly more sweeping than is warranted by our subsequent experience with strong, self-made men. On March 21, 1864, in a reply to a committee of working men, he read this part of his message to Congress of December, 1861, and added a few sentences running in part as follows: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property or upon the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor; property is desirable; is a positive good in the world. . . . Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example assuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built."

These are the expressions of a man who held to the creed of democracy with fervent intensity of conviction and yet who never tried to apply his creed either with the rancor of the fanatic or with the experience-proof zeal of the doctrinaire. The kind of democracy with which Lincoln was familiar was the democracy of a farming country where the conditions were akin to those of pioneer days, and of "cities" which were hustling, overgrown villages, where there was little stratification of either the raw social or the raw industrial life. In consequence what he says has no direct bearing in detail on a community life of great capitalists and masses of wage-workers, where the social conditions are far more static than in the early decades of the statehood of Illinois. His experience on the prairies had not enabled him to think out either the indispensable necessity of capitalism in great industrial achievements,

or the need of a complex system of safeguards for labor under the very conditions necessary for such achievements. But the *principles* apply; and he carefully guarded his statements, so that they should not be too sweeping. Of course his words must be interpreted by his deeds—for example, his advocacy of the spirit of international brotherhood among working men must be read in the light of the fact that at the time he was straining every nerve to make the people submit to the most colossal sacrifices in order to secure the perpetuation of the national life—for Lincoln's life teaches us nothing more clearly than that international duty can be performed only as the sequence to the fullest insistence upon an intense spirit of nationalism.

Lincoln's belief in the superiority of the rights of labor to those of capital was expressed again and again; before he became President, in an official message to Congress while he was President, and again after he had been three years President. Evidently it was his deeply held belief. Surely the perpetuity of our institutions, even of our civilization, depends upon our holding and acting on the same view. We must shape our governmental policy primarily with a view to the welfare of the working man and the farmer. Lincoln's words give us no hint of the details of the course we should follow; but they do clearly indicate that course.

But Lincoln also stood for the rights of capital; and here again we should follow his policy. If the laboring man permits himself to put improper burdens on capital, he will bring everything down with a crash; and even if the man higher up is smashed, this will be small comfort to the man lower down if he, too, is under the ruins. Lincoln explicitly disclaimed any hostility to a man because he was wealthy. He explicitly asserted that the accumulation of individual property was "right, and for the general good." He held up as the proper ideal, not burning down the house of another, but building up a house for oneself—a corollary to which is that it is better for the owner of a small house that another man

should have a big house, rather than that neither should have any house. In other words, he believed in a constructive system which, while guarding the rights of capital, should see that the benefits were as widely diffused as possible and that all artificial obstacles to a fair start in the world, and to industrial democracy, were done away with. Finally, it is evident that, although he neither used modern terminology nor was familiar with modern industry, his ideal was a co-operative system in which each man labored and each man was to some extent an owner of the capital necessary for the work.

In order to live up to the spirit of Lincoln's teaching in this matter, it is necessary that we refuse to be bound by the letter, which is not applicable to an industrial world where capital is used in huge masses, mostly corporate, while labor is helpless unless it combines. In Lincoln's simple world capital was of far smaller importance than where gigantic, complex, highly useful undertakings have either to be financed on a huge scale or else left undone; and labor was far more fit to maintain its rights under a system of primitive individualism. In that simple world Lincoln *saw* only a few men as employers, and a few others as employed wage-workers, while the majority were owners of the tools with which or on which they worked. What he upheld as a *desirable principle* was that the average man—who can never be the man of large means—should himself own a piece of the world and do his own work as regards that piece of the world. What he saw has changed. What he upheld as the desirable principle has not changed. The individualism of Lincoln's section in Lincoln's day has vanished and cannot be restored. At present the mass of people engaged in industry cannot become owners as individuals; and to give this mass a nominal ownership which does not imply control fails to reach the heart of the matter, for control is the element which implies equality between men. But no man is fit for control who does not possess intelligence, self-respect, and respect for the just rights of others. There-

fore, instead of individual control of industry, there must to-day be some species of collective control of industry; which means that the tool-users shall become the tool-owners; but which also means that they will assuredly break down themselves and their business unless they are willing to pay for skilled management a price, in some measure, corresponding to the high value of the service rendered, and unless they are willing to give a just reward to whatever necessary capital they cannot themselves supply. This means an effort toward a combination of the proper functions of the corporation with the wise activities of the labor-union (and I emphasize proper in one case and wise in the other). It is the negation of the I. W. W. theories and practices. From the standpoint of Lincoln's teachings and practices, those of the I. W. W. are harmful and wrong. But most certainly any fair treatment of any development of his theories points to progress, step by step, in the direction of securing a share of the control of the big corporation in the hands of the men who work for the corporation, but who ought not to remain merely the wage-earning employees of the corporation. This means some adaptation of co-operative ownership and management. Lincoln's teachings, applied to the facts of to-day, mean that if alive now he would lead toward a working combination of collective control and liberty, just as he once led toward a working combination of individual control and liberty. He would lead toward practical idealism in industry now exactly as he actually did lead toward practical idealism in government; and he would have been measurably successful precisely because he would never have forgotten that industry, like government, must be made a going concern.

In Lincoln's day, as in our day, there were wise men and foolish men, good men and evil men, both among those who called themselves conservatives and among those who called themselves radicals; and sometimes emphasis had to be placed on the need of daring, and sometimes on the need of caution. It was the radicals who were most interested in the destruc-

tion of slavery; and in this the radicals were right; and although Lincoln held them back, and steadied them and waited until the fulness of time, yet in the end he led them to victory. But on the whole the radicals put the destruction of slavery above the preservation of the Union, and herein they were wrong; and the conservatives took the reverse view, and herein they were right, and Lincoln sided with them; and in the end they followed him when he saw that it was best to make one cause both of freeing the slave and of saving the nation. From all his record it is safe to say that if Lincoln had lived to deal with our complicated social and industrial problems he would have furnished a wisely conservative leadership; but he would have led in the radical direction.

A SQUARE DEAL IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

THERE has been much talk about compulsory arbitration, on either the Canadian or New Zealand models, as a method of hereafter averting the danger which it is alleged menaced us at the time of the threatened railway strike in the summer of 1916. As a matter of fact, that threatened danger was due entirely to the character of the men we had in public office, and to their actions in view of the pending political campaign, and no plan will ever permit us to escape such danger as long as we have such public servants. I doubt the possibility of any mere law eliminating the chance of trouble in a great strike. I doubt even more strongly whether a law modelled on the Canadian or New Zealand plans will have this effect. But I think something can be done to lessen the danger of strikes, and to give us a far better chance, than at present, of averting them, and of dealing wisely with them if they come.

Before considering the plan, it is necessary that we get clearly into our heads two facts as to which our people are apt to be a little misty—the wage-workers being especially misty about one, and the capitalists about the other.

In the first place it should be accepted as axiomatic that the country will never resort to any policy aimed at reducing the effectiveness of the police power, or at preventing it from becoming more effective. This is a point, which I am sorry to say, the labor-unions need specially to remember. It is both regrettable and discreditable that they should so often antagonize efficiency in the police force. It is regrettable and discreditable, for example, that they should oppose the Pennsyl-

vania State Constabulary System, and should object to its being introduced in New York or Colorado. There can be no possible justification for such opposition; and it speaks ill for any person who becomes a party thereto. There is every possible reason for seeing that the efficiency of the police is not impaired, for such impairment is always at the expense of law-abiding and upright men, whether rich or poor. There can be no possible justification for seeking to impair this efficiency. If the police power is used oppressively, or improperly, let us by all means put a stop to the practice and punish those responsible for it; but let us remember that a brute will be just as much of a brute whether he is inefficient or efficient. Either abolish the police, or keep them at the highest point of efficiency. To follow any other course is foolish. A bad man in a uniform may perhaps use his weapon to evil purpose; but it would be childish because of this fact to insist that all policemen, instead of having automatic revolvers, be armed with flint-lock pistols. We must give the individual policeman the best arms possible, in order that he may not be at a disadvantage when pitted against a criminal; and then see to it that under no circumstances are these arms used unless the need is imperative, and the justification complete. Exactly the same rule applies as regards the efficiency of the police force as a whole.

But while this feeling against the police is entirely improper, it is perfectly natural; because in labor disturbances the action of the police, when it has been called out, in nineteen-twentieths of the cases is against the interest of the wrong-doing wage-worker, and not against the interest of the wrong-doing capitalist. The wage-worker is right in resenting this fact. But he is wholly wrong in failing to see where the trouble comes in. He makes his attack on the wrong point. The trouble is not that the government represses the wrong-doing of one side. The trouble is that it does not also repress the wrong-doing of the other side. The protest should be not against the efficient use of the police power but against the failure to use it with

equal efficiency against both sides. The trouble is not in the use of the police force to restore order. No government has any warrant for existing, if it cannot keep order, and suppress disorder and violence. This is the first step to take, and until it has been taken all further progress is impossible. The trouble is that the government is apt to *confine* itself to keeping order, whereas it ought by rights to treat keeping order, not as in itself an end, but as a means for securing justice. The old-style Bourbon capitalist was fond of insisting that the government should do nothing except keep order; that it was its highest duty by force to interfere with violence, which was the weapon of the misguided or criminal wage-worker, but that it was an abhorrent wrong for it to interfere with the greed, cunning, trickery, and ruthless indifference to the welfare of others, which were shown not only by evil capitalists, but by many well-meaning capitalists who simply did not think and did not possess foresight and vision. In so far as this view still prevails, it is evident that the police power of the government is a power exercised only in the interest of the capitalists. But where government exerts in favor of one class a power vital to the welfare of that class, it has the right to lay down conditions which must be complied with by that class in order to warrant the exercise of the power. Those who invoke governmental aid must submit to governmental regulation.

As a matter of fact, while the tasks of securing justice from the wage-worker to the capitalist and from the capitalist to the wage-worker differ widely as regards the ease of execution, they are morally on the same level of justifiability and necessity. For example, the disturbances in connection with a mining company in one of the Rocky Mountain States in 1914 reached a pitch that made it necessary for the army of the United States to go into the State. It was entirely proper to send the army into the State. It was entirely proper to deal as sternly as was necessary with riot and murder; for whoever condones riot and murder is an enemy of the Com-

monwealth. But when once the United States Government had sent the Regular Army of the United States into the State in question, to put a stop to violence which was wholly or partially due to the conditions of work and living created by the action of the mining company, it was clearly the duty of the government also to step in and deal with the conditions which called forth the violence. In other words, the government should have dealt impartially with the wrong-doing by both sides—and there can be no question of the gravity of some of the wrong-doing by each side. The government should have insisted upon its right, and its duty, to take action so thoroughgoing as to remedy both the immediate and the ultimate wrongs done by both sides, and to guarantee straight and clean dealing by both sides for the future. As a matter of fact, the Washington authorities did nothing to remedy the conditions which had produced the outbreak of homicidal anarchy; they took no steps to guarantee that justice should come as the sequel to establishing law and order.

Any one with any knowledge of labor troubles can point to instance after instance during the last few years where the fault has lain almost wholly with the labor men, and also to instance after instance in which the fault has lain almost wholly with the capitalists. The man is a thoroughly bad public servant who declines to face the truth as regards either set of cases. Many employers, individual and corporate, have been shamelessly and brutally arrogant toward labor, and the government should fearlessly interfere against them. But many employers have learned wisdom which makes them, in a sense, rival the unions by sedulously providing for the workers the very things the unions demand (sometimes to the chagrin, instead of the pleasure, of the mere agitators among the labor leaders); and where this is the case the government should in its actions recognize the fact just as fearlessly as it recognizes the opposite fact when the conditions are reversed.

Where, as in the case above referred to, the company is not only the man's employer, but the man's landlord, and owns.

the streets and public buildings of the town in which he lives as well as the land on which he works, and controls absolutely the public officials, the condition of affairs created is one which not merely justifies but requires the interference of the government. The government should interfere in such manner as to encourage and not harm the business in so far as the business is carried on with just regard for the rights of the wage-workers as well as for the rights of the general public; but in addition to encouraging the business it should also control it and see that the rights both of the wage-workers and the public are really conserved. In the case in question the soldiers wearing Uncle Sam's uniform did well, as usual. They were for many months supreme in their control of the situation in so far as their powers were permitted to extend. They not only put a stop to all excesses by the strikers and by the armed employees of the operators, but they also very wisely prohibited all organized importation of strike-breakers from other localities. The Federal Government, however, took no efficient steps to secure a just and permanent solution of the difficulties; and the withdrawal of the army left conditions precisely as they formerly were. This was not right. The Federal Government should in all such cases unhesitatingly interfere to police disorder; but it ought not to rest content with this. It should also police the causes of disorder. It is necessary first to deal with the dreadful situation caused by the results up to which these causes have led; but the only final solution is to deal with the causes themselves. If the State will not deal with them, and if it nevertheless takes the view that the Federal Government is bound to interfere in order to enforce the law which the State is powerless to enforce, then the Federal Government should be given and should assume, as a necessary corollary to its power of intervention to restore order, the further power to establish the reign of justice in such manner as to prevent a recurrence of the causes which inevitably lead to disorder. There must somewhere be governmental power to deal with both sides. Violence

must be vigorously repressed; but the law must be enforced by lawful methods. This means that the government must supply the police, and must not only eliminate the mob on one side, but must eliminate on the other the private mine-guard and imported thug. Moreover, the police power should always be exercised in conjunction with a thoroughgoing and impartial governmental inquiry into the causes of the strike; and until this government commission has had time to investigate the facts and make its findings, it would be wise to forbid the importing of strike-breakers—for the imported strike-breaker stands on an entirely different footing from the non-unionist (or unionist) who refuses to go on strike.

In any labor disturbance of a size or character to jeopardize the public welfare, there are three parties in interest—the property-owners, the wage-earners, and the general public. I refuse to assent to the view that either the owners of the property or the workers have interests paramount to the general interest of the public at large. This position was formerly taken by the owners, who insisted that the property was theirs, and that the government had nothing whatever to do with their management of it, except to furnish them protection if they were threatened by lawless violence on the part of the workers. I then declined to accept this view. In exactly the same way I now decline to accept any claim put forth in their turn by the workers that they must not be interfered with by the government, and that the public has no rights which it can assert—as against the will of the workers—to do whatever they choose in the premises. One view is precisely as untenable as the other. The public servant who is worth his salt will do what is right, no matter which side is hurt, and will pay no heed to the threats of either side when the question is one affecting the public interests.

Having in view the considerations above set forth, it seems to me that the following course should be adopted by the nation in dealing with those exceptional labor disturbances where the national as distinct from merely local welfare is men-

aced, and where the national interest is so greatly involved that the custodians of the greater welfare are not warranted in refraining from action. In such cases the representatives of the government should thoroughly investigate all the facts, and all the claims advanced by both sides, and decide exactly what the rights and wrongs are, and what ought to be done in the premises—deciding, for instance, if necessary, any such question as what ought to be the proper maximum hours for labor, or minimum rates of wage, or conditions of labor, or method for safeguarding lives, or, in short, any or all the questions at issue. They should then make an award which will be binding upon the capitalists, the property-owners. The award would be in the nature of a decree. The government would see that the terms were strictly complied with; failure to comply would mean that the government itself would take hold and run the business until the orders were carried out. The government would not say that the wage-earners would have to return to work on the conditions laid down. It would not interfere with the right of the wage-earners to strike, or by entirely peaceful methods endeavor to dissuade other men from taking their places. But, if the employers, or capitalists, carried out fully, and in good faith, the government's directions, the government would guarantee, by the exertion of the entire police power of the nation, that there should be no violence against them, no lawless interference with their running the business according to the terms laid down.

Many men, who do not think out the matter, will doubtless feel at first glance that such a system would bear more heavily against the capitalist than against the laborer. Such is not really the fact. On the contrary, the method would work substantial justice to both sides. It is the capitalists who need the protection of the police power, and who cannot exist without such protection. There are, of course, exceptional instances (under conditions such as existed in connection with some of the Rocky Mountain mining companies), where there is also violence on the part of the capitalists by the use of hired

fighters; and in this case the governmental police power would be used promptly to suppress violence on both sides. But violence by capitalists through the use of fighting mercenaries is exceptional. Ordinarily, the misdeeds committed by the employers against the laborers are not of a character that can in any way be affected by the armed force of the government. This force therefore is called out only to help one side in the dispute. It is emphatically proper that it should give this help, and that it should put a stop to any misdeeds of the other side. But it is no less emphatically proper that at the same time the government, which thus furnishes protection to property against the lawless violence of labor, should also, just as effectively, deal with any wrongs committed by the owners of the capital, or property, at the expense of labor.

In short, it is the business of the government to find out the causes that have resulted in the outbreak and see just where wrong has been done. If the wrong has been committed by the capitalists, it must correct this wrong. Then, having acted on behalf of the rights of the workers, and inasmuch as the capitalists have complied with its orders, the government must in turn furnish full protection to them in their rights, by guaranteeing them against any form of lawless disorder and violence.

INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE; THE TOOL-OWNER AND THE TOOL-USER

WE have failed lamentably to prepare for this war during the two and a half years of peace contemptuously granted us after Germany began the war. Let us refrain from aggravating our folly by now failing to prepare for the tremendous industrial problems which will come to the forefront as soon as peace arrives. One of the greatest and most pressing of these is that which is concerned with the relations between labor and capital, and the relations of both to the public.

The immediate exigencies of the war have been met at Washington with confusion and absence of coherent plan. At the moment the government has partially waked to the need, and has summoned the big business leaders of the country to its aid; and on the whole they have responded with both patriotism and efficiency. Yet the government for many months seemed equally afraid to refuse their aid and to treat them well. It wished to pay less than a proper profit on their work for the government; and yet was not prepared to tax with proper heaviness the excess profits when they became of huge dimensions. The Sherman law, which for nearly a decade had caused more damage than good, because of the refusal of Congress to amend it into proper shape, has, for the time being, practically been suspended; the government is encouraging business men in certain lines of business to get together, pool their purchases, fix prices, adopt a common sales policy; in short to do the very things forbidden by the Sherman law. We thus see one department of the government asking busi-

ness men in certain lines to do the very thing for which the Department of Justice has the same men under antitrust indictments. If the Sherman law hurts our production and business efficiency in war-time, it hurts it also in peace-time, for the problems of boring for oil, of producing steel, manufacturing and selling agricultural implements, are no different now from what they were six months ago. Instead of having the Administration connive at breaking the law at this time, the law should be amended so as to make it unnecessary to break it at any time—along the lines of seeing that business is both encouraged and controlled. Big work can only be done by big business; and government must courageously but intelligently control big business.

In this present crisis the right course to follow is to guarantee the business man who works for the government a good profit; then to put a heavy progressive tax on all the excess profits above this. See that labor is paid a first-class wage; and then that it gives first-class work for the first-class wage. Exempt plain food and plain clothing, and all the necessities for a simple life and family rearing from taxation. Let incomes bear substantial progressive taxes, but not on the basis of class envy; and initiate a national policy of heavy progressive inheritance taxes.

So much for the immediate needs of the moment. Let us meet them instantly; and let us furthermore begin to secure industrial justice—the square deal—for the future. The first essential is to rid ourselves of the cant and hypocrisy of those who, usually for improper political reasons, seek to persuade people that large-scale business concerns, including the so-called trusts, owe their growth to the tariff, or to governmental corruption, and should be destroyed—not controlled in the public interests. The politicians who take this attitude work nothing but mischief.

Unlimited cutthroat competition between small and weak concerns is not now possible; and, if possible, it would be wholly undesirable. People have said that the tariff causes

trusts. It does nothing of the sort. The Sugar Trust, for example, has not been harmed in the smallest degree by the removal of the tariff on sugar, although multitudes of small producers have been ruined. The Standard Oil Corporation was wholly unaffected by the tariff (and breaking it into small corporations under the Sherman law merely resulted in the oil costing more to the consumer, in the men on the inside making enormous fortunes, and in the reduction of the efficiency of the concern in international business). The unscientific lowering of the tariff has not harmed the trusts in the smallest degree save as an incident of harming the entire business world. People have said that governmental corruption has favored trusts, that they have been built up by rebates and the like. Unquestionably some trusts have been favored improperly by certain governmental bodies; and others have been built up by improper practices. But, speaking of the business world as a whole, these are not the prime causes and are hardly even considerable factors in the growth of big corporations. They are responsible for some of the evil that has accompanied the growth; and to suppress them there must be efficient governmental control. But the simple fact is that modern big corporations are due primarily to three causes, namely, steam transportation, the electric telegraph, and the telephone. No change in the tariff will stop the upgrowth of big corporations. No moral reform in the world of business or the world of politics will stop it. But big corporations could be ended to-morrow by the abandonment of the railway, the telegraph, and the telephone. The trouble is that the price would be somewhat heavy!

This is an era of combination. Big business has come to stay. It cannot be put an end to; and if it could be put an end to, it would mean the most widespread disaster to the community. The proper thing to do is to socialize it, to moralize it, to make it more an agent for social good, and to do away with everything in it that tends toward social evil. To do this there must be a wise governmental control, a govern-

mental control that will check the corporation when it is doing wrong, and check the labor-union when it is doing wrong, and hold each accountable and responsible for its deeds and misdeeds, but which shall at the same time recognize that the corporation has its rights just as the union has its rights, and that each is to be encouraged as long as it does well. No great industrial well-being can come unless big business prospers. China is the home of the small industrial unit, and the Chinese laborer is badly off. Persons who inveigh against capital as the source of all troubles of labor should ponder the fact that over large and densely populated areas in China, there are no capitalists and no capital; and that in these areas the laborers are steeped in the most abject poverty. We cannot hold our own with foreign competition, we cannot lead in developing South America, without successful big business concerns.

Over a century ago the "industrial revolution" began to turn the industrial world into one of big business, in which the dominant features were massed capital on a hitherto unheard-of scale, and laborers employed, also in enormous masses, by the capitalist, without personal touch or sense of responsibility on his part. The new system was inaugurated in England. France and Germany speedily followed suit. In the United States, the change from the old system of unlimited cutthroat competition among a multitude of small, weak concerns, to the new system of concentration (without either co-operation or control), got under full headway about the time of the Civil War; in economically backward countries like Russia and Spain it was yet later.

There was much that was beneficial in the change. It produced an immense increase of population and aggregate wealth; it was everywhere accompanied or followed by a great spread of education and community effort; and it probably, on the whole, raised the standard of attainable luxury and comfort for the workers in the industrial countries, compared to what it remained in the backward countries such as Spain and Russia.

But it was accompanied by evils so numerous and so grave that to this day one of our heaviest tasks is the struggle to do away with them. The movement substituted for the old social contrast between privileged patrician and unprivileged plebeian an even more offensive and violent industrial contrast between the man of one type of specialized capacity who possessed capital and the men of all other types of capacity who did not possess capital. Under the stimulus of the economic individualism taught by writers of the school of Adam Smith, the social and administrative nihilism taught by philosophers like Herbert Spencer, and the ultrapolitical individualism taught by liberal political leaders like Thomas Jefferson and Richard Cobden, each man was impressed with the belief that the selfish seeking of his own interest represented substantially his whole duty to the state. The revolt against these doctrines showed itself in such teachings as those of Marx and such practices as those of the Paris Commune; and these abstract and concrete applications of the theory of ultracollectivism naturally reacted in favor of the apostles of ultraindividualism.

Here in America we have in many ways been more backward than in most countries of middle and western Europe, because our situation was such that we could shut our eyes to unpleasant truths and yet temporarily prosper. But our system, or rather no-system, of attempting to combine political democracy with industrial autocracy, and tempering the evil of the boss and the machine politician by the evil of the doctrinaire and the demagogue, has now begun to creak and strain so as to threaten a breakdown.

Surely the time has come when we should with good nature and practical common sense set ourselves to the practical work of solving the problem. This means that we must disregard equally the apostles of ultracollectivism and the doctrinaires of ultraindividualism. It also means that we must rebuke with equal emphasis the men who can see nothing wrong in what is done by capitalists and corporations, and the other men who can see nothing wrong in what is done by labor leaders

and trades-unions. Moreover, it means that we must not permit ourselves to be misled by bitterness concerning wrongdoing that is past into condoning wrongdoing of the opposite type in the present—for this is the road that leads straight down to that bottomless pit where the spirits of Robespierre and Danton find themselves in the company of the high-born tyrants whose bloody tyranny they denounced and copied.

At the outset of the industrial revolution, the capitalist, the man whose special ability lay in the "money touch," profited hugely and with gross injustice. He gained an improperly large part of the benefit that should have been shared between himself and the inventors and managers, and almost all of the part that should have been shared between himself and his wage-workers. He practically applied the theory that it was his right, and even his duty, to get from his working men the largest possible amount of labor per man for the smallest possible amount of pay. Naturally, such a grossly improper attitude tended to produce among the laborers in the unions a no less improper fanaticism in desiring that each man should perform as little labor as possible for as much pay as possible. In similar fashion, the extreme capitalistic tyranny which once treated trades-unions as illegal and sought to make of the laborer a serf was largely responsible for the subsequent outbreaks of labor-union tyranny which in certain places and at certain times have taken the form of criminal conspiracies against society. Arrogant selfishness by a combination of capitalists, met by arrogant selfishness by a combination of working men, may be better than the reign of unchecked selfishness by either side alone; but it can never be satisfactory, and must always be fraught with grave danger to the whole social fabric.

It is profoundly to the disadvantage of the commonwealth that laborers shall be worked to the limit for the lowest wages at which they can be obtained. It is also profoundly to the disadvantage of the commonwealth that they shall do as little work as possible, and that the standard of labor adopted shall

be that of the least efficient man. We need the highest possible standard of efficiency. But we also need the highest possible reward for that efficiency, and reasonable equity in the distribution of the reward. Unlimited and unregulated competition will not secure either end; and mere rancorous warfare against property and efficiency will do even less. What is needed is a wise and resolute effort toward co-operation of a character which shall give each worker, so far as possible, a certain interest in the capital with which he works—that is, which shall give the user of the tool some property interest in and control over the tool. Together with this should go such control by the government as shall help in securing efficiency in the business and justice both as among those in the business and as between all of them and outsiders.

There are several conditions which must be met if the problem is to be really solved. The first is that our aim must be not to damage successful business, but to insure good conduct in business; which means greater fairness in apportioning the profits among all those engaged in the business, and propriety of behavior in the business as a whole in its relations to the public. We wish to get for the workers, among other things, permanency of employment, pensions which will permit them to face old age with a feeling of dignity and security, insurance against accidents and disease, proper working and living conditions, reasonable leisure—all these as tending toward enabling the worker to get for himself interest and joy in life, and on condition that he prove his fitness for partnership, for the enjoyment of rights, by the way in which he in his turn performs his duties and heartily and nobly recognizes his obligation to others. Now, of course, it ought to be accepted as an axiomatic truth that none of these things can be obtained from an unprosperous business; that if profits are not existent, all talk of sharing them becomes idle. Yet in practice a great mass of more or less insincere and more or less ignorant politicians and demagogues disregard this self-evident truth; and the popular feeling roused by the misdeeds of many corpora-

tions in the past and of some corporations in the present spurs them to disregard it. Many railroad corporations, for instance, a decade or two ago, were guilty of shameful practices, and there have been one or two conspicuous instances of such malpractices of recent years. It was absolutely necessary that these misdeeds should be checked and punished; this was done; and then too many legislative bodies proceeded on the assumption that by law railroads could be made to assume all kinds of burdens to their employees and the public at the same time that their rates were cut down so as to leave their margin of profit almost nil. There has been both failure to exercise sufficient control over railways in stock-watering and the like, and overmuch burdening of them by vexatious legislation passed without regard to whether or not the burdens were just and necessary. In consequence, there is now real difficulty in getting investors to put into the railroads the capital necessary for fitting them to meet the growing needs of the country.

Business and labor are different sides of the same problem. It is impossible wisely to treat either without reference to the interests and duties of the other—and without reference to the fact that the interests of the general public, the commonwealth, are paramount to both. I am not asking for the adoption of an impossible ideal. Under Hiram Johnson, the Californian governmental authorities have realized with reasonable success precisely this ideal.

Another vitally important fact to keep in mind is the mischievous folly of the nominally progressive, but in reality merely Bourbon, effort to turn back the wheels of the modern movement. The loudest of the professional "antitrust" leaders of the last decade, those who have declaimed against all corporations, have sought to treat the size of big business as in itself an evil, and have diverted popular attention from the necessary work of regulating and controlling big corporations to the vain effort to smash and break up all big corporations without regard to their conduct. This has not only represented mere evil and folly; it has represented evil and folly of the

genuinely reactionary type. It has represented the obstinate refusal to face the new facts and the new needs. It has represented the foolish desire to return to the very practices which produced the evils against which these men clamor. The politicians and agitators of this type have shown themselves as emphatically Bourbon and Tory as the worst of the trust magnates they have assailed; and have been as mischievous.

We must face the fact that big business has come to stay, and that it cannot be abolished in any great nation under penalty of that nation's slipping out of the front place in international industrialism. During the quarter of a century preceding the present war, England slipped back in business leadership compared to Germany, precisely because in Germany they were beginning to do business on a large scale, by huge combinations. The vital point was that the state when necessary encouraged and at the same time supervised and controlled these big combinations, securing justice and reasonably fair treatment among capitalists, managers, salaried experts, and wage-workers—*all of whom had some voice in, some control of, at least certain parts of their common business.*

In the world of international industry the future belongs to the nation which develops either the big-scale businesses; or else the ability among small-scale business men, working men, and farmers, to co-operate, to work together and pool their resources for production, distribution, and the full use of scientific research; or else, what is most desirable, develops both types of business. The small individualistic business cannot compete in any field in which either of the other types flourishes. Therefore, whether we like it or not, we must either permit and encourage the development of these two types or fall behind other nations, as Spain once fell behind England and France. Our duty is not with futile obstinacy to try to stop the new movement, but to guide and control it; to encourage it, and yet to make it subservient to the common good. If we face it in this spirit we shall speedily find that it is far from representing mere evil. On the contrary, it is precisely the

strong, wealthy, prosperous business concerns which can afford to treat their working men as in the interest of the commonwealth it is imperative that they should be treated. Only—it is necessary that the government shall possess such control, shall exercise such supervision, over them as to insure the use of their giant and prospering strength in the common interest. It would be as unwise—even if it were possible—to exterminate big corporations as to exterminate big labor-unions. But it is eminently wise for the government to itself make the people a partner of both, to supervise the relations of each to the other and of both to the general public, and gradually to substitute the principle of co-operation for that of devil-take-the-hindmost.

To make the government a partner in this manner is necessary to the wise handling of labor difficulties. The worst faults of trades-unionism to-day are largely, and probably mainly, due to past and present misconduct and shortcoming by the capitalists, the corporations. Trades-unionism grew up as an effort to organize the resistance of labor to capitalistic exaction; and it has acquired or inherited many of the vices against which it warred. Corporations and labor-unions are alike bound to serve the commonwealth. Each must recognize in the future its public duty; and this can only come as the result of the state becoming the partner of both, a partner sincerely anxious to help both, but determined that each shall do its duty. Public opinion can do much, and no governmental movement can succeed without an intelligent and determined public opinion behind it; but the prime necessity is governmental action. This action must have for its goal the guidance of all the men in any business, from the top to the bottom, so that they may severally and jointly make the best use of their lives, and help all of us to make the best use of our common national life. Such action will end in mere nullity unless it encourages the business and helps it to prosper, and therefore welcomes the growth—the large-scale growth—which comes as the result of prosperity; for it is only the big, prosperous, na-

tionalized business, backed by the government and in close touch with the government, that can take the long look ahead necessary for the really right treatment of labor; that can plan for a use of labor which will benefit both the community and the worker himself; that can bargain with the man on what is normally a lifetime basis, so that he may be thoroughly trained to his job and may know that if he does his work well he has ahead of him in the end leisure, independence, security (and, by the way, this means that the gypsy or roving or unsettled type of worker, who never stays long in one job, is always, whether the fault be his own or his employer's, a detriment to business and a detriment to labor). Under such conditions there can and will come—gradually and by evolution, not revolution—a shift in control which will mean that the competent workers become partners in the enterprise. This partnership must mean not only a sharing of profit, but a sharing in the guidance and management; and therefore it can only come step by step, as the wage-workers grow out of the narrow envy and jealousy which make so many men resent superior ability and strive to deny it proper reward. It is not necessary that the Van Hornes and the Jim Hills of the future shall receive the enormous financial reward they have had in the past; but it must be substantial, or they will not lead to success the business in which the brakemen, switchmen, engineers, firemen will, we hope, ultimately become part owners as well as workers. Such leadership is absolutely needed by the men below, and it must be handsomely paid for—there is no more mischievous form of privilege than giving equal rewards for unequal service, and denying the great reward to the great service. But it need not be a reward fantastically out of proportion to the reward of the men beneath; the difference need not be many times greater than the differences between the rewards given such men as Lincoln, Farragut, and Sheridan, and the rewards given the men in the ranks under them—and there was not a man in the ranks, worth his salt, who felt that this difference was not more than justified by the difference.

between the service rendered by the three men named and the service rendered by himself.

This shift in control will help to solve the difficulties connected with "scientific management." Such management becomes intolerable unless it is exercised under conditions which give the wage-worker his full share in the benefits accruing; and this is not permanently possible unless the men become more closely associated with the management, so that they may take some part in the guidance, even if only by acquiescence, after they have become thoroughly familiar with the difficulties and have become willing to share the responsibilities.

When the tool-user has some ownership in and some control over the tool, the matter of opposition to labor-saving machinery will largely solve itself; for then a substantial part of the benefit will come to the working man, instead of having it all come as profit to the capitalist, while the working man may see his job vanish.

Let me again repeat that industrial democracy does not mean handing over the control of matters requiring expert knowledge to masses of men who lack that knowledge; and therefore it does mean that it cannot come until the men in the ranks have sufficient self-knowledge and self-control to accept and demand expert leadership as part of the necessary division of labor. If democracy, whether in industry or politics, refuses to employ experts, it will simply show that it is unfit to survive. At the outset, at least, the share of the workers in control would not be on the business side proper of the management, but over the conditions of daily work—the essentially human side of the industrial process.

Documentation—the mixture of theorizing and paper research—is within reasonable limits good; but experimentation is indispensable. It is only by experiments in the actual work of business that we shall find the exact methods by which, and the exact degree to which, we can measurably realize the ideal. For full success, the trial should be made in a business in which the workers are of a high type in skill, intelligence,

and character, and are fairly well accustomed to act together. The government could well afford to experiment along these lines in some of its work. Whenever in private business there is any serious, even although only partial, attempt to try for a solution along these lines, it should receive our sympathetic attention. Let us watch them all with encouragement and open minds—profit-sharing as in the steel corporation, high wages, home-building, partial co-operative discipline—no matter what the method. Let us study each attempt, trying especially to look at the results *from the workers' standpoint*, and ready to learn any lesson, no matter how unexpected nor how much at variance with our preconceived notions. Then, as we gather wisdom, let us go cautiously forward in making the state the guarantor that what has been gained for the worker without its aid shall not be lost because that aid continues to be withheld.

We must become, to a real degree, our brother's keeper, if only for the sake of our own children; for in the long run this world will not be a pleasant living-place for our children unless it is also a reasonably comfortable living-place for our brother's children. The great scientist, Huxley, was about as far removed from mushy sentimentalism as any man could be; he was a singularly clear-headed man, free from illusions, and with a fine fearlessness in facing truth. In his capital volume, "Method and Result," he lays bare with unsparing hand the folly alike of the ultra-individualist and of the ultra-collectivist. He was utterly intolerant of shams, and perhaps especially of the exuberant sham-monger who promises the arrival of the millennium if mankind will adopt his specific patent for the abolition of poverty, or war, or vice, or whatever evil may at the moment be most advertised. Yet Huxley realized absolutely the need of grappling with our social and industrial dangers, if our civilization is to endure or to deserve to endure. Said he: "If there is no hope of a large improvement in the condition of the greater part of the human family; if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of a

greater dominion over nature, which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows upon that dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of want, with its concomitant physical and moral degradation, among the masses of the people, I should hail the advent of some friendly comet, which would sweep the whole affair away, as a desirable consummation."

This is a stern truth. Let us keep it steadily in mind, and govern our actions accordingly.

SOCIAL JUSTICE: THE BROTHERLY COURT OF
PHILADELPHIA

SOcial justice means the effort to guard women and children from evil and brutality, and, so far as may be, to secure them against grinding misery. It means also the effort to open the doors of fair dealing to those men who would otherwise find them closed.

We Americans are only on the threshold of the campaign for a better national life. We have only begun to consider our duty toward the child; to realize that the child-drudge is apt to turn into the shiftless grown-up; to realize that the child growing up in the streets has first-class opportunities for tending toward criminality; and, therefore, that playgrounds may be as necessary as schools. We have only begun to realize that the child's mother, if wise and duty-performing, is the only citizen who deserves even more from the state than does the soldier; and that, if in need, she is entitled to help from the state, so that she may rear and care for her children at home. We have only begun to realize that, as regards the father, the man, we must help him to help himself; help him to learn the vitally important and difficult business of co-operation; help him to learn industrial citizenship by beginning to exercise industrial power; and also help him along many different lines by outright governmental action—insurance against sickness, accident, and undeserved unemployment, provision for old age, provision against overwork and unsanitary conditions. To this end we shall ultimately need a system of nationally federated labor exchanges, co-ordinated with the schools, so that both the capacity of the pupil and the demands

of industry may be considered. The experiences in the town of Gary, Ind., have shown how much the right kind of industrial education can improve the efficiency and the character of labor.

Part of the programme which includes such matters can be achieved by sheer growth of public opinion, and by many individuals, acting separately or in non-governmental organizations. Part must be secured by wise, moderate, steady action through governmental agencies, through the agencies that represent the people as a whole, that represent all of us. In taking such action we must, as always, remember that the demagogue is as dangerous a public enemy as the corruptionist himself, that the insincere radical is not a whit better than the insincere Tory, and that the enthusiastic fool will probably work even more mischief than the selfish reactionary. *All* of these men are among the foes of our own household! We must also remember that reforms cost money, and therefore we cannot go into them save in so far as we have the money. Excellent intentions are of no use if we cannot pay our debts. If we impose too great a tax on any business, whether this tax comes in the shape of money directly paid to the government or of obligations and expenses imposed by governmental action, the business cannot prosper and must be abandoned. Therefore, while we have a right to require that each man shall contribute in proportion to his ability and his privilege, and that as to certain forms of taxation and obligation there shall be a heavy cumulative imposition of duty to go with marked increase in fortune, yet we must be scrupulously careful not to damage the general prosperity. General prosperity is conditioned mainly upon private business prosperity. Such private prosperity, if obtained by swindling in any form, represents general detriment. But it is essential, in the common interest, not to damage legitimate private business by either misdirected or overrapid activity in securing, for the public at large or for the less fortunate among our fellows, benefits which ought to be secured but which can only be secured if the com-

munity as a whole is in a strong, healthy, and prosperous condition. It is essential to pass prosperity around; but it is mere common sense to recognize that unless it exists it cannot be passed around. The wage-workers must get their full share in the general well-being; but if there is no general well-being there will be no share of it for anybody.

These are excellent sentiments! How can they be realized, even partially, in actual practice? Well, here and there, over the country there are various communities and governmental instrumentalities which actually have in certain fields measurably achieved the purposes above set forth; and to study the practical working of one of these—I choose, as an example, the municipal court of Philadelphia—is worth far more than any amount of speculation *in vacuo*. As engineers put it, the only, and the final, test of theory is the service test.

The really valuable—the invaluable—reform is that which in actual practice works; and therefore the credit due is overwhelmingly greater as regards the men and women actually engaged in doing the job, than as regards the other men and women who merely agitate the subject or write about it—and a single study of a reform which is being applied is worth any number of uplift books which are evolved from the reformer's inner consciousness. Of course there must be agitation in order to get the reform started, and there must be some preliminary theoretical studies, and where the object is really worth while, the agitation sensible as well as zealous, and the studies capable of application, the early agitators and writers deserve well of the community. But under no circumstances do they deserve as well as do the men and women who in very fact make the machinery function to advantage, and who by constant test and trial and experiment eliminate faults and develop new and useful activities. Therefore an institution like the municipal court of Philadelphia deserves the study—and the cordial support—of all who desire to achieve something definite toward giving aid to those who most need it.

The purposes of the municipal court were admirably set

forth, when it was established, by its nine judges in the following statement to the public :

"The civil side of the court will be managed to give prompt but equitable justice to creditors and debtors, brushing aside the legal crusts, the observance of which, while dear to those who admire the growth of the law, causes much unnecessary delay in settling disputes. The elimination of unnecessary technicalities will give a sane and effective settlement of the obligations between suitors.

"The delinquent and criminal side will be guarded to reduce the number of complaints by bringing together, as far as possible, those estranged, and to render a trial that will guard the right of the individual. We assume the right of persons to be equal to, or even paramount to, that of property, and, while protecting the one, we will strive to save the person to himself and society, recognizing that the value of a nation is based on unit life. We will not be theoretical, but practical. While dealing on this plane with those who should know right from wrong, we will try to save and protect those who may be redeemed, and we will utilize the corrective purposes of the law upon others whose acts and doings will benefit society by their absence.

"We will deal with the juvenile in a manner that will correct ills and reduce delinquency by removing the causes thereof, with the purpose of not only correcting the child, but using the child to correct the parents and make the home."

It was my good fortune to pass part of a day at the court, watching it in action; and even a superficial examination was enough to show how well the court was succeeding in its purposes.

The court has explicitly announced that it will eliminate from its action those legalistic technicalities so dear to the legalistic mind, so ruinous from the standpoint of justice, and so heart-breaking from the standpoint of humanity. The court has faithfully kept its promise. The court puts the protection of property high—and it is emphatically proper in so doing, for

full protection of property is an essential to civilization; but it puts human rights even higher, laying down the rule that its duty is to save the individual both for himself and for society. The court draws the necessary line against foolish sentimentality with clearness when it says that it will endeavor to save and protect those who can be redeemed, to remove the causes of youthful delinquency, correct parents, preserve the home, and, where possible, reconcile those who are estranged outside of the court; but that it will use the corrective and punitive purposes of the law upon those whose segregation from society is necessary for the well-being of society.

This spirit is something wholly different from what any court would have shown even a generation ago; and it is as remote from the spirit of Blackstone as from that of Hammurabi. It represents, *inasmuch as it has been translated into action*, that ideal of service which—in spite of the way it is often warped, by silly sentimentality as much as by selfish materialism—is here and there taking root in our governmental, social, and industrial systems.

While visiting the court I myself saw instance after instance of the way in which the court has humanized its procedure at the points which most concern the average citizen, the man or woman who most sadly needs an understanding and sympathetic justice and to whom mere formal legalism is a brazen wall, forbidding all access to justice.

In one of the rooms a most charming and capable woman presided as a court official—and, incidentally, it is nonsense to limit appointments of judges of the municipal courts exclusively to men when there are some women pre-eminently fit for the position. She had various women and girls as assistants; neatly dressed, attractive—pleasant, smiling assistants, with nothing of the awful and gloomy solemnity of the professional uplifter about them. One of these assistants, herself, I think, of Italian parentage, but looking like any bright American girl, was dealing with two rather forlorn, battered persons, a man

and a woman, Italian immigrants of the lower laboring class. They had quarrelled bitterly some months previously, had separated, and had then indulged in mutual recriminations of a type which would have made any one not accustomed to their habits of thought and expression abandon all hope or even desire to get them together. But the brave and experienced young girl who was getting them together possessed both an authoritative mind and an understanding heart. When I appeared the pair had been persuaded to "talk things over," each had admitted the loneliness caused by the absence of the other, and before I left a rather effusive reconciliation took place, and the reunited couple left court.

I was much interested, and in response to my queries I was told that already, during the court's short life, considerably over a thousand similar cases had been settled, each being promptly dealt with on a basis of common sense and sympathy, and each being carefully followed afterward so as to secure every opportunity for the settlement to be permanent.

Another branch of the court's work deals with small suits for damages and unpaid bills. People of means and leisure have no conception of the amount of misery due to the causes which lie hidden behind these small suits. They represent in the aggregate an extraordinary amount of bitterness, and they ferment into economic unrest, violent social revolt, and much individual crime and failure. Organizations such as the admirable Legal Aid Society have been created especially to deal with them. The Philadelphia municipal court settles them on the average in as many days as it formerly took months in the ordinary courts. As an illustration of the cases dealt with, take the following:

A salesman in a hat store brought suit for a week's wages. The defense of his employers was that he was not entitled to a full week's wages, having been discharged for cause, in that he had left their store to take a hat across the street to a rival concern to have a small repairing job done. That was considered so indiscreet by the employers that he was dis-

charged at once, and paid only for the days he had worked. The salesman's reply was that he had been instructed by his employers not to accept small repair jobs. The particular job in question was brought to him by an old customer of the store, and the salesman thought he would retain the goodwill of the customer and his continued trade by having the little job done at once. The salesman had been with the concern for a number of years, which was evidence of his reliability and prior good conduct. The judge who heard the case suggested to the employers that they withdraw temporarily and talk the matter over with their former employee. The result was that the salesman not only received his week's wages, but was re-engaged by his employers.

A servant-girl brought suit against her former mistress for wages. The hearing brought out these facts: The servant-girl had a new pair of shoes which squeaked, and as she clumped around the floor, waiting on the table, the mistress became nervous and ordered her to walk on her tiptoes. The girl obeyed for several days, until one evening, when there were guests at dinner, she came slumping in with her squeaking shoes. The mistress thereupon discharged her without paying her her wages. The girl told the court she walked on her tiptoes until the muscles of her legs were so sore that she could not continue to obey her mistress's instructions. The court, in a friendly talk, pointed out to the mistress the unreasonableness of her demands, and she thereupon paid the girl her wages.

The juvenile court side of the work is, of course, in many ways the most important of all. Thousands of boys and girls are dealt with. Formerly they were merely treated as "bad," and they were dealt with in ways that made them worse. This court, like other such courts, treats them wherever possible as having been warped, or starved, or misdirected, and with a mixture of sanity and good temper—and firmness!—always firmness!—sets them on the right path, tries in some degree to smooth the path, and, above all, tries to put heart into them. Moreover, thank Heaven, the court thoroughly understands

that while public institutions for the care and correction of boys are often lamentable necessities, where there is no home, or where the home is hopelessly vile, yet that even the humblest home, if it possesses anything of the right spirit, is a better place for right upbringing than the best-equipped public institution. The "institutionalized" boy or girl is recognized as a rather uncomfortable problem even by those who also fully recognize the great service rendered by many institutions to children who would otherwise be on the streets or worse. Perhaps we shall ultimately realize the similar danger in the "standardized" child or man or woman. "Standardize" is one of the fashionable terms of the day; there are plenty of lines of human endeavor—notably in minimum wages and in minimum standards of comfort in the working and living conditions of laborers—in which standardization is eminently proper; but it is peculiarly easy to misdevelop it into a wooden and cramping formalism.

The Juvenile Workers' Bureau in connection with the Philadelphia municipal court represents the pioneer effort to run an employment agency of this kind. It meets a very real need; for all social workers, and almost all decent citizens who have tried to do occasional work for the neighbors who have been "in trouble," know how hard it is to place probationers. The bureau persuades the employer that the "bad" boy may really be good at heart and in purpose, but needs work and some one to take an interest in him. The practical success of the bureau has been striking, especially when it dealt with boys with whom the real difficulty was that they had too much steam and no outlet for it. Of course there are many obstacles to be overcome; one of the gravest is the fact that many of the boys who have special qualifications for certain kinds of work have no qualification for the work which is easiest to obtain, such as that of an office-boy. In the very interesting report of the court, acknowledgment is made of the kind and helpful cooperation of many of the leading professional and business firms of Philadelphia. In the report is given an example of

the way in which helping a given boy sometimes results in helping an entire family, thanks to the kindness of some outside individual whose sympathy has been enlisted:

"Michael, the probationer, was fourteen years old, the oldest of five children and the only member of the family able to work. We obtained a position for Michael and delved into his history. We found that the father had been in ill-health and was idle for some time and that the family lived in two rooms in a tenement-house in the down-town section. We enlisted the interest of a prominent Main Line physician, who needed a farmer, and though Michael's father knew very little about farming, the physician agreed to take him. The family moved to a cottage on the estate and the change has been most beneficial in every way. The earning capacity of the family was largely increased, with the result that the services of Michael as a wage-earner are no longer needed and he is permitted to continue his school studies. From extreme poverty this family is now enjoying a comfortable living. The father receives thirty dollars a month and free rent. The mother is employed several days a week, and sometimes oftener, in the physician's house, earning one dollar and fifty cents a day. The oldest girl of twelve years washes the dishes after meal-time and is paid ten cents for each service.

"This is only one case out of many. Early in the history of the bureau, when times were particularly trying and there were many probationers out of employment, we interested one hundred and eight persons in fourteen families who were greatly in need of assistance."

But the bureau never commits the dreadful fault of reducing all cases to the same test. It tries to keep the family together, so long as there is any possibility of good coming from the effort; but where necessary it unhesitatingly protects and separates the boy or girl from the drunken mother or brutal father. In other words, it always strives to act with common sense, and as the peculiar needs of the case in hand require. A large number of philanthropically minded persons of ex-

cellent intention need to keep themselves perpetually in check by reading books by such admirably practical workers as Miss Loame shows herself to be in that philanthropic classic "The Next Street But One." The Philadelphia municipal court stands in no such need.

The court uses every agency to facilitate its purpose—playgrounds, settlement houses, and schools. The regular probation officers do work for which there could be no complete substitute; but it can be supplemented by the Big Brother movement, and the probation officers do all they can to help in the creation of a Big Brother organization. As in other divisions of the court, so in the juvenile division every effort is made to settle cases without bringing them into court, and, if they have to be brought in, to deal with them promptly.

One of the most difficult, and most melancholy, features of the court's work is in connection with sex crimes. Special effort is made in the case of illegitimate children to secure from the father proper care for the mother and child. In the bad old days—and in accord with the principle upheld not only by men, but by most sheltered women, who were selfish, unimaginative, and free from temptation—the whole burden fell on the wretched woman. She had to care for both herself and the child, the man, even if committed, paying a mere pittance. Even yet this wretched inequality of duty and penalty has been but imperfectly remedied; the changes, however, are in the right direction. I was myself sufficiently under the rule of tradition to assume that the desirable thing was to secure the marriage of the parents; but the lady who was chief of the woman's division of the criminal department explained to me that in actual practice this had not been found desirable. What was needed from the father was that he should do his full share in supporting the child until it was of age. The so-called "forced" marriages usually cause much unhappiness and rarely result in permanent good. The maternal instinct is strong; the unmarried mother rarely deserts

her child; while the father is only too apt to show an animal-like indifference to it.

The hearing is in private, and the suffering woman—she may or may not be a wronged woman—tells her story to another woman, skilled to find out the facts, and to secure the best solution possible. The applicant is cared for until the birth of the child, and until she has recovered her strength; every effort is made to secure her work, so that she may keep her child; and every effort is made to get the father to pay his full share. If the father and mother desire to marry, they are of course encouraged to do so.

Some rather unexpected results were developed by the inquiries into the cases of illegitimacy. To my surprise I was told that the vast majority of unmarried mothers were of normal mentality; feeble-mindedness played a small part. Another surprise to me was the discovery that nearly half of the unmarried mothers were living at home, and were therefore supposedly sheltered; but relatively few of these came into court. Nearly a fourth were in domestic service. The remainder were in various occupations; and a much larger percentage of these than of domestic servants came into court to assert their rights.

This is the merest sketch of what the court is doing. Some of the work is of a kind never before attempted; for example, there has never before been an attempt made by court officials to secure a reconciliation between man and wife before permitting the case to come for trial. There is a constant effort to perfect the machinery; and with this in view the records are kept with extraordinary thoroughness.

But the distinguishing feature of the court is not the machinery, but the human factor. The court officers feel a genuine sympathy for the men, women, and children who come before them, or whom they seek out. No machine is of use without men and women of the right sort behind it. In the municipal court of Philadelphia, as in every other really first-

class institution, the human equation is of paramount importance; it is the sane, zealous, disinterested work of the judges and all the other court officials to which the striking quality of the success must be attributed:

SOCIALISM VERSUS SOCIAL REFORM

IT is always difficult to discuss a question when it proves impossible to define the terms in which that question is to be discussed. Therefore there is not much to be gained by a discussion of Socialism *versus* Individualism in the abstract. Neither absolute Individualism nor absolute Socialism would be compatible with civilization at all; and among the arguments of the extremists of either side the only unanswerable ones are those which show the absurdity of the position of the other. Not so much as the first step towards real civilization can be taken until there arises some development of the right of private property; that is, until men pass out of the stage of savage socialism in which the violent and the thriftless forcibly constitute themselves co-heirs with the industrious and the intelligent in what the labor of the latter produces. But it is equally true that every step toward civilization is marked by a check on individualism. The ages that have passed have fettered the individualism which found expression in physical violence, and we are now endeavoring to put shackles on that kind of individualism which finds expression in craft and greed. There is growth in all such matters. The individualism of the Tweed Ring type would have seemed both commonplace and meritorious to the Merovingian Franks, where it was not entirely beyond their comprehension; and so in future ages, if the world progresses as we hope and believe it will progress, the standards of conduct which permit individuals to make money out of pestilential tenements or by the manipulation of stocks, or to refuse to share with their

employees the burdens laid upon the latter by old age and by the inevitable physical risks in a given business, will seem as amazing to our descendants as we now find the standards of a society which regarded Clovis and his immediate successors as pre-eminently fit for leadership.

There are many American "Socialists" to whom "Socialism" is merely a rather vaguely conceived catchword, and who use it to express their discontent with existing wrongs and their purpose to correct them. These may be men of high character, who wish to protest against concrete and cruel injustice. So far as they make any proposals which tend towards betterment, we can wisely act with them. But the real, logical, advanced Socialists, who teach their faith as both a creed and a party platform, may deceive to their ruin decent and well-meaning, but short-sighted men; and there is need of plain speaking in order accurately to show the trend of their teaching. The leaders of the Socialist party have, in the present war, shown themselves the enemies of America, and the tools of German militaristic brutality.

The immorality and absurdity of the doctrines of Socialism as propounded by these advanced advocates are quite as great as those of the advocates of an unlimited individualism. As an academic matter Herbert Spencer stands as far to one side of the line of sane action as Marx stands on the other. But practically there is more need of refutation of the creed of absolute Socialism than of the creed of absolute individualism; for it happens that at the present time a greater number of visionaries, both sinister and merely dreamy, believe in the former than in the latter. One difficulty in arguing with professed Socialists of the extreme type, however, is that those of them who are sincere almost invariably suffer from great looseness of thought; for if they did not keep their faith nebulous, it would at once become abhorrent in the eyes of any upright and sensible man. The doctrinaire Socialists, the extremists, the self-styled "scientific" Socialists, the men who represent the doctrine in its most advanced form, are, and

must necessarily be, not only convinced opponents of private property, but also bitterly hostile to religion and morality; in short, they must be opposed to all those principles through which, and through which alone, even an imperfect civilization can be built up by slow advances through the ages.

Indeed, these thoroughgoing Socialists occupy, in relation to all morality, and especially to domestic morality, a position which can only be described as revolting. In America the leaders even of this type have usually been cautious about stating frankly that they proposed to substitute free love for married and family life as we have it, although many of them do in a round-about way uphold this position. In places on the continent of Europe, however, they are more straightforward, their attitude being that of the extreme French Socialist writer, M. Gabrielle Deville, who announces that the Socialists intend to do away with both prostitution and marriage, which he regards as equally wicked—his method of doing away with prostitution being to make unchastity universal. Professor Carl Pearson, a leading English Socialist, states their position exactly: "The sex relation of the future will not be regarded as a union for the birth of children, but as the closest form of friendship between man and woman. It will be accompanied by no child-bearing or rearing, or by this in a much more limited number than at present. With the sex relationship, so long as it does not result in children, we hold that the state in the future will in no wise interfere, but when it does result in children, then the state will have a right to interfere." He then goes on to point out that in order to save the woman from "economic dependence" upon the father of her children, the children will be raised at the expense of the state; the usual plan being to have huge buildings like foundling asylums.

Mr. Pearson is a scientific man who, in his own realm, is worthy of serious heed, and the above quotation states in naked form just what logical scientific Socialism would really come to. Aside from its thoroughly repulsive quality, it ought

not to be necessary to point out that the condition of affairs aimed at would in actual practice bring about the destruction of the race within at most a couple of generations; and such destruction would be heartily to be desired for any race of such infamous character as to tolerate such a system. Moreover, the ultra-Socialists of our own country have shown on occasion, that, so far as law and public sentiment will permit, they are ready to try to realize the ideals set forth by Messrs. Deville and Pearson. To those who doubt this statement I commend a book called "Socialism; the Nation of Fatherless Children," a book dedicated to the American Federation of Labor. The chapters on Free Love, Homeless Children, and Two Socialist Leaders are especially worth reading by any one who is for the moment confused by the statements of certain Socialist leaders to the effect that advanced Socialism does not contemplate an attack upon marriage and the family.

These same Socialist leaders, with a curious effrontery, at times deny that the exponents of "scientific Socialism" assume a position as regards industry which in condensed form may be stated as, that each man is to do what work he can, or, in other words, chooses, and in return is to take out from the common fund whatever he needs; or, what amounts to the same thing, that each man shall have equal remuneration with every other man, no matter what work is done. If they will turn to a little book recently written in England called "The Case Against Socialism," they will find by looking at, say, pages 229 and 300, or indeed almost at random through the book, quotations from recognized Socialist leaders taking exactly this position; indeed, it is the position generally taken—though it is often opposed or qualified, for Socialist leaders usually think confusedly, and often occupy inconsistent positions. Mrs. Besant, for instance, putting it pithily, says that we must come to the "equal remuneration of all workers"; and one of her colleagues, that "the whole of our creed is that industry shall be carried on, not for the profit of those engaged in it, whether masters or men, but for the benefit of

the community. . . . It is not for the miners, bootmakers, or shop assistants as such that we Socialists claim the profits of industry, but for the citizen." In our own country, in "Socialism Made Plain," a book officially circulated by the Milwaukee division of the Socialist party, the statement is explicit: "Under the labor time-check medium of exchange proposed by Socialists, any laborer could exchange the wealth he produced in any given number of hours for the wealth produced by any other laborer in the same number of hours." It is unnecessary to point out that the pleasing idea of these writers could be realized only if the state undertook the duty of task-master, for otherwise it is not conceivable that anybody whose work would be worth anything would work at all under such conditions. Under this type of Socialism, therefore, or communism, the Government would have to be the most drastic possible despotism; a despotism so drastic that its realization would only be an ideal. Of course in practice such a system could not work at all; and incidentally the mere attempt to realize it would necessarily be accompanied by a corruption so gross that the blackest spot of corruption in any existing form of city government would seem bright by comparison.

In other words, on the social and domestic side doctrinaire Socialism would replace the family and home life by a glorified state free-lunch counter and state foundling asylum, deliberately enthroning self-indulgence as the ideal, with, on its darker side, the absolute abandonment of all morality as between man and woman; while in place of what Socialists call "wage slavery" there would be created a system which would necessitate either the prompt dying out of the community through sheer starvation, or an iron despotism over all workers, compared to which any slave system of the past would seem beneficent, because less utterly hopeless.

"Advanced" Socialist leaders are fond of declaiming against patriotism, of announcing their movement as international, and of claiming to treat all men alike. As regards patriotism their practice is generally as bad as their preaching; in this

war the Socialist leaders have played the part of traitors to America, and many sincere men have in consequence left the Socialist party—although as so many of the Socialist leaders here are Germans, and as they have been warm upholders of every revolting act of the German autocracy, they may claim that their patriotism is merely inverted. But as regards real internationalism, the Socialists would not for one moment stand the test of actual experiment. If the leaders of the Socialist party in America should to-day endeavor to force their followers to admit all negroes and Chinamen to a real equality, their party would promptly disband, and rather than submit to such putting into effect of their avowed purpose, would, as a literal fact, follow any capitalistic organization as an alternative.

It is not accident that makes thoroughgoing and radical Socialists adopt the principles of free love as a necessary sequence to insisting that no man shall have the right to what he earns. When Socialism of this really advanced and logical type, or any social system really, although not nominally, akin to it, is tried as it was in France in 1792, and again under the Commune in 1871, it is inevitable that the movement, ushered in with every kind of high-sounding phrase, should rapidly spread so as to include, not merely the forcible acquisition of the property of others, but every conceivable form of monetary corruption, immorality, licentiousness, and murderous violence. In theory, distinctions can be drawn between this kind of Socialism and anarchy and nihilism; but in practice, as in 1871, the apostles of all three act together; and if the doctrines of any of them could be applied universally, all the troubles of society would indeed cease, because society itself would cease. The poor and the helpless, especially women and children, would be the first to die out, and the few survivors would go back to the condition of skin-clad savages, so that the whole painful and laborious work of social development would have to begin over again. Of course, long before such an event really happened the Socialistic régime would have been over-

turned, and in the reaction men would welcome any kind of one-man tyranny that was compatible with the existence of civilization.

So much for the academic side of unadulterated, or as its advocates style it, "advanced scientific" socialism. Its representatives in this country who have practically striven to act up to their extreme doctrines, and have achieved leadership in any one of the branches of the Socialist party, especially the parlor Socialists and the like, be they lay or clerical, deserve scant consideration at the hands of honest and clean-living men and women. What their movement leads to may be gathered from the fact that in several Presidential elections they nominated and voted for a man who earned his livelihood as the editor of a paper which not merely practised every form of malignant and brutal slander, but condoned and encouraged every form of brutal wrong-doing, so long as either the slander or the violence was supposed to be at the expense of a man who owned something—wholly without regard to whether that man was himself a scoundrel, or a wise, kind and helpful member of the community. As for the so-called Christian Socialists who associate themselves with this movement, they either are or ought to be aware of the pornographic literature, the pornographic propaganda, which make up one side of the movement. That criminal nonsense should be listened to eagerly by some men bowed down by the cruel conditions of much of modern toil is not strange; but that men who pretend to speak with culture of mind and authority to teach, men who are or have been preachers of the Gospel or professors in universities, should affiliate themselves with the preachers of criminal nonsense is a sign of grave mental or moral shortcoming.

I wish it to be remembered that I speak from the standpoint of, and on behalf of, the wage-worker and the tiller of the soil. These are the two men whose welfare I have ever before me, and for their sakes I would do anything, except anything that is wrong; and it is because I believe that teaching them doctrine like that which I have stigmatized represents the most

cruel wrong in the long run, both to wage-worker and to earth-tiller, that I reprobate and denounce such conduct.

We need have but scant patience with those who assert that modern conditions are all that they should be, or that they cannot be immensely improved. The wildest or most vicious of Socialistic writers could preach no more foolish doctrine than that contained in some ardent defenses of uncontrolled capitalism and individualism. There are dreadful woes in modern life, dreadful suffering among some of those who toil, brutal wrong-doing among some of those who make colossal fortunes by exploiting the toilers. It is the duty of every honest and upright man, of every man who holds within his breast the capacity for righteous indignation, to recognize these wrongs, and to strive with all his might to bring about a better condition of things. But he will never bring about this better condition by misstating facts and advocating remedies which are not merely false, but fatal.

Take, for instance, the doctrine of the extreme Socialists, that all wealth is produced by manual workers, that the entire product of labor should be handed over every day to the laborer, that wealth is criminal in itself. Of course wealth or property is no more criminal than labor. Human society could not exist without both; and if all wealth were abolished this week, the majority of laborers would starve next week. As for the statement that all wealth is produced by manual workers, in order to appreciate its folly it is merely necessary for any man to look at what is happening right around him, in the next street, or the next village. In New York, on Broadway between Ninth and Tenth Streets, is a huge dry-goods store. The business was originally started, and the block of which I am speaking was built for the purpose, by an able New York merchant. It prospered. He and those who invested under him made a good deal of money. Their employees did well. Then he died, and certain other people took possession of it and tried to run the business. The manual labor was the same, the good-will was the same, the physical conditions were the

same, but the guiding intelligence at the top had changed. The business was run at a loss. It would surely have had to shut, and all the employees, clerks, laborers, have been turned adrift, to infinite suffering, if it had not again changed hands and another business man of capacity taken charge. The business was the same as before, the physical conditions were the same, the good-will the same, the manual labor the same, but the guiding intelligence had changed, and now everything once more prospered, and prospered as had never been the case before. With such an instance before our very eyes, with such proof of what every business proves, namely, the vast importance of the part played by the guiding intelligence in business, as in war, in invention, in art, in science, in every imaginable pursuit, it is really difficult to show patience when asked to discuss such a proposition as that all wealth is produced solely by the work of manual workers, and that the entire product should be handed over to them. Of course, if any such theory were really acted upon, there would soon be no product to be handed over to the manual laborers, and they would die of starvation. When the workers themselves recognize the need of able, highly skilled and well-paid managers and leaders they will be able themselves to own and control great industries. But until this is done a great industry can no more be managed by a mass-meeting of manual laborers than a battle can be won in such fashion, than a painters' union can paint a Rembrandt, or a typographical union write one of Shakespeare's plays.

The fact is that this kind of Socialism represents an effort to enthrone privilege in its crudest form. Much of what we are fighting against in modern civilization is privilege. We fight against privilege when it takes the form of a franchise to a street railway company to enjoy the use of the streets of a great city without paying an adequate return; when it takes the form of a great business combination which grows rich by rebates which are denied to other shippers; when it takes the form of a stock-gambling operation which results in the

watering of railway securities so that certain inside men get an enormous profit out of a swindle on the public. All these represent various forms of illegal, or, if not illegal, then anti-social privilege. But there can be no greater abuse, no greater example of corrupt and destructive privilege, than that advocated by those who say that each man should put into a common store what he can and take out what he needs. This is merely another way of saying that the thriftless and the vicious, who could or would put in but little, should be entitled to take out the earnings of the intelligent, the foresighted, and the industrious. Such a proposition is morally base. To choose to live by theft or by charity necessarily means the complete loss of self-respect. The worst wrongs that capitalism can commit upon labor would sink into insignificance when compared with the hideous wrong done by those who would degrade labor by entailing upon it the rapid lowering of self-reliance. The Roman mob, living on the bread given them by the state and clamoring for excitement and amusement to be purveyed by the state, represent for all time the very nadir to which a free and self-respecting population of workers can sink if they grow habitually to rely upon others, and especially upon the state, either to furnish them charity, or to permit them to plunder, as a means of livelihood.

In short, it is simply common sense to recognize that there is the widest inequality of service, and that therefore there must be a reasonably wide inequality of reward, if our society is to rest upon the basis of justice and wisdom. Service is the true test by which a man's worth should be judged. We are against privilege in any form: privilege to the capitalist who exploits the poor man, and privilege to the shiftless or vicious poor man who would rob his thrifty brother of what he has earned. Certain exceedingly valuable forms of service are rendered wholly without capital. On the other hand, there are exceedingly valuable forms of service which can be rendered only by means of great accumulations of capital, and not to

recognize this fact would be to deprive our whole people of one of the great agencies for their betterment.

The test of a man's worth to the community is the service he renders to it, and we cannot afford to make this test by material considerations alone. One of the main vices of the Socialism which was propounded by Proudhon, Lassalle, and Marx, and which is preached by their disciples and imitators, is that it is blind to everything except the merely material side of life. It is not only indifferent, but at bottom hostile, to the intellectual, the religious, the domestic and moral life; it is a form of communism with no moral foundation, but essentially based on the immediate annihilation of personal ownership of capital, and, in the near future, the annihilation of the family, and ultimately the annihilation of civilization.

But the more we condemn unadulterated Marxian Socialism, the stouter should be our insistence on thoroughgoing social reforms. As for the distinction between Marxian Socialism and that socialism which is merely another name for social reform, I commend all who are interested to the little book by Vladimir Simkovich called "*Marxism versus Socialism*."

It is true that the doctrines of communistic Socialism, if consistently followed, mean the ultimate annihilation of civilization. Yet the converse is also true. Ruin faces us if we decline to try to reshape our whole civilization in accordance with the law of service, and if we permit ourselves to be misled by any empirical or academic consideration into refusing to exert the common power of the community where only collective action can do what individualism has left undone, or can remedy the wrongs done by an unrestricted and ill-regulated individualism. There is terrible evil in our social and industrial conditions to-day, and unless we recognize this fact and try resolutely to do what we can to remedy the evil, we run great risk of seeing men in their misery turn to the false teachers whose doctrines would indeed lead them to greater misery, but who do at least recognize the fact that they are now miserable.

I have scant patience with the men who fear to adopt necessary reforms lest they be stigmatized as "socialistic." Let us not be frightened by the term. Personally I believe that our young men should all render industrial service as well as military service. There is no necessary work which any man should regard as dishonorable; but there is plenty of necessary work which it is not a good thing for any one to have to do all his life; and there are seasonal industries which demand for short periods large numbers of workers but offer them no steady employment. A year's industrial service to the commonwealth by every young man would be an advantage from every standpoint. It would generally be hard, unskilled labor; it would build up the man himself, physically and morally; it would prevent the permanent employment of men in trades which no man should permanently follow; it would enable the state to help meet crises in the demand for occasional or seasonal labor; it would greatly develop mutual sympathy and understanding among all sorts of rich and poor who had actually toiled at the same tasks. Of course I recognize that this is for the far future. But immediate needs can be met. At the present time there are scores of laws in the interest of wage-workers and soil-tillers, of workingmen and farmers, which should be passed by the National and the various State Legislatures; and those who wish to do effective work against Socialism would do well to turn their energies into securing the enactment of these laws.

It cannot be too often said that Socialism is both a wide and a loose term, and that the self-styled Socialists are of many and utterly different types. If we should study only the professed apostles of radical Socialism, or if we should study only what active leaders of Socialism in this country have usually done, or read only the papers in which they have usually expressed themselves—which papers, by the way, are at least as low in moral tone, at least as reckless in their mendacity, as the worst "capitalist" sheets—we would gain an utterly wrong impression of very many persons who call themselves Social-

ists. The recent experience of the Socialist mayor of Schenectady with the Socialist state "machine," as told by himself, shows that the worst abuses of machine and boss tyranny in the old political parties are surpassed in practice by the conduct of the Socialist party when in power. Nevertheless there are plenty of self-styled Socialists who have proved themselves excellent public servants. There are many peculiarly high-minded men and women who like to speak of themselves as Socialists, but whose attitude, conscious or unconscious, is really merely an indignant recognition of the evil of present conditions and an ardent wish to remedy them, and whose Socialism is really only an advanced form of liberalism. Many of these men and women do in actual fact take a large part in the advancement of moral ideas, and in practice wholly repudiate the purely materialistic, and therefore sordid, doctrines of those Socialists whose creed really is in sharp antagonism to every principle of public and domestic morality, and who do war on private property with a bitterness but little greater than that with which they war against the institutions of the home and the family, and against every form of religion, Catholic or Protestant. The Socialists of this moral type may in practice be very good citizens indeed, with whom we can at many points co-operate. They are often joined temporarily with what are called the "opportunistic Socialists"—those who may advocate an impossible and highly undesirable Utopia as a matter of abstract faith, but who in practice try to secure the adoption only of some given principle which will do away with some phase of existing wrong. With these two groups of Socialists it is often possible and indeed necessary for all far-sighted men to join heartily in the effort to secure a given reform or do away with a given abuse. Probably, in practice, wherever and whenever Socialists of these two types are able to form themselves into a party, they will disappoint both their own expectations and the fears of others by acting very much like other parties, like other aggregations of men; and it will be safe to adopt whatever they advance that is wise,

and to reject whatever they advance that is foolish, just as we have to do as regards countless other groups who on one issue or set of issues come together to strive for a change in the political or social conditions of the world we live in. The important thing is generally the "next step." We ought not to take it unless we are sure that it is advisable; but we should not hesitate to take it when once we *are* sure; and we can safely join with others who also wish to take it, without bothering our heads overmuch as to any somewhat fantastic theories they may have concerning, say, the two hundredth step, which is not yet in sight.

There are many schemes proposed which their enemies, and a few of their friends, are pleased to call Socialistic, or which are indorsed and favored by men who call themselves Socialists, but which are entitled each to be considered on its merits with regard only to the practical advantage which each would confer. Every public man, every reformer, is bound to refuse to dismiss these schemes with the shallow statement that they are "Socialistic"; for such an attitude is one of mere mischievous dogmatism. There are communities in which our system of state education is still resisted and condemned as Socialism; and we have seen in this country men who were themselves directors in National banks which were supervised by the Government, object to such supervision of other corporations by the Government on the ground that it was "Socialistic." An employers' liability or old-age pension law is no more Socialistic than a fire department; the regulation of railway rates is by no means as Socialistic as the digging and enlarging of the Erie Canal at the expense of the state. As communities become more thickly settled and their lives more complex, it grows ever more and more necessary for some of the work formerly performed by individuals, each for himself, to be performed by the community for the community as a whole. Isolated farms need no complicated system of sewerage; but this does not mean that public control of sewerage in a great city should be resisted on the ground that it tends

toward Socialism. Nowadays nobody denies this particular proposition, but there are plenty of persons who deny precisely similar propositions. Let each proposition be treated on its own merits, soberly and cautiously, but without any of that rigidity of mind which fears all reform. If, for instance, the question arises as to the establishment of day nurseries for the children of mothers who work in factories, the obvious thing to do is to approach it with an open mind, listen to the arguments for and against, and, if necessary, try the experiment in actual practice. We cannot afford to dismiss such a proposition off-hand as "Socialistic." We should look into the matter with an open mind, and try to find out, not what we want the facts to be, but what the facts really are.

Again we cannot afford to subscribe to the doctrine, equally hard and foolish, that the welfare of the children in the tenement-house district is no concern of the community as a whole. If the child of the thronged city cannot live in decent surroundings, have teaching, have room to play, have good water and clean air, then not only will he suffer, but in the next generation the whole community will to a greater or less degree share his suffering. If this be Socialism, make the most of it!

In striving to better our industrial life we must ever keep in mind that, while we cannot afford to neglect this material side, we can even less afford to disregard its moral and intellectual side. Each of us is bound to remember that he is in very truth his brother's keeper, and that his duty is, with judgment and common sense, to try to help the brother. To the base and greedy attitude of mind which adopts as its motto, "What is thine is mine," we oppose the doctrine of service, the doctrine that insists that each of us, in no hysterical manner, but with common sense and good judgment, and without neglect of his or her own interests, shall yet act on the saying, "What is mine I will in good measure make thine also."

We should all join in the effort to do away with any evil; we should realize that failure to grapple with grave evil may

mean ruin in the future; but we should refuse to have anything to do with remedies which are either absurd or mischievous, for such, of course, would merely aggravate the present suffering. The first thing to recognize is that, while economic reform is often vital, it is never ail-sufficient. The moral reform, the change of character—in which law can sometimes play a large, but never the largest, part—is the most necessary of all.

There are many questions as to which the ultra-socialists occupy a position which is not merely indifferent, but antagonistic to all morality. As I have already said, this is notably true as regards the questions of sex. In dealing with the marriage relation the Socialist attitude is one of unmixed evil. Our effort should be to raise the level of self-respect, self-control, sense of duty in both sexes, and not to push them down to an evil equality of moral turpitude by doing away with the self-restraint and sense of obligation which have been slowly built up through the ages. We must bring them to a moral level by raising the lower standard, not by depressing the high.

However—and this we must say again, and again, and again—the fact that the professed socialists hold views that are on some points profoundly immoral, does not in the smallest degree excuse us from warring against existing evils. To fail to do so would rank us among the foes of this nation's own household. And in thus warring, we must lose sight neither of our moral nor of our economic needs.

We should do everything that can be done, by law or otherwise, to keep the avenues of occupation, of employment, of work, of interest, so open that there shall be, so far as it is humanly possible to achieve it, a measureable equality of opportunity; an equality of opportunity for each man to show the stuff that is in him. We ought, as far as possible, to make it possible for each man to obtain the education, the training which will enable him to take advantage of the opportunity, if he has the stuff in him to do so. When it comes to reward, let each man, within the limits set by a sound and far-sighted

morality, get what, by his energy, intelligence, thrift, courage, he is able to get, with the opportunity open. We must set our faces against privilege; just as much against the kind of privilege which would let the shiftless and lazy laborer take what his brother has earned as against the privilege which allows the huge capitalist to take toll to which he is not entitled. We stand for equality of opportunity, but not for equality of reward unless there is also equality of service. If the service is equal, let the reward be equal; but let the reward depend on the service; and, mankind being composed as it is, there will be inequality of service for a long time to come, no matter how great the equality of opportunity may be; and just so long as there is inequality of service it is eminently desirable that there should be inequality of reward.

We recognize, and are bound to war against, the evils of to-day. The remedies are partly economic and partly spiritual, partly to be obtained by laws, and in greater part to be obtained by individual and associated effort; for character is the vital matter, and character cannot be created by law. These remedies include a religious and moral teaching which shall increase the spirit of human brotherhood; an educational system which shall train men for every form of useful service—and which shall train us to prize common sense no less than morality; such a division of the profits of industry as shall tend to encourage intelligent and thrifty tool-users to become tool-owners; and a Government so strong, just, wise, and democratic that, neither lagging too far behind nor pushing heedlessly in advance, it may do its full share in promoting these ends

THE FARMER: THE CORNER-STONE OF CIVILIZATION

RECENTLY an Indiana woman was peeling some potatoes, and in a hollow in one she found a note from the Southern farmer who had raised the potatoes, running:

"I got sixty-nine cents a bushel for these potatoes. How much did you pay for them?"

She wrote back:

"I paid four dollars per bushel."

The farmer sent her just one more letter. It said:

"I got sixty-nine cents for those potatoes. It could not have cost more than thirty-one cents to carry them to you. Who got the other three dollars? I am going to try to find out."

It is idle to say that when such an occurrence is typical—and it most certainly is to a large extent typical—there is no cause for uneasiness. Something is wrong. It may be wholly the fault of outsiders. It may be at least partially the fault of the farmers and of those who eat the food the farmers raise. The trouble may be so deep-rooted in our social system that extreme caution must be exercised in striving for betterment. But one thing is certain. The situation is not satisfactory, and calls for a thoroughgoing investigation, with the determination to make whatever changes, including radical changes, are necessary in order once more to put on a healthy basis the oldest and most essential of all occupations, the occupation which is the foundation of all others, the occupation of the tiller of the soil, of the man who by his own labor raises the raw material of food and clothing, without which the whole fabric of the most gorgeous civilization will topple in a week.

We cannot permanently shape our course right on any inter-

national issue unless we are sound on the domestic issues; and this farm movement is the fundamental social issue—the one issue which is even more basic than the relations of capitalist and working man. The farm industry cannot stop; the world is never more than a year from starvation; this great war has immensely increased the cost of living without commensurately improving the condition of the men who produce the things on which we live. Even in this country the situation has become grave.

The temporary causes of this situation have produced such effect in our land only because they aggravated conditions due to fundamental causes which have long been at work. These fundamental causes may all be included in one: the farmers' business in our country has remained almost unchanged during the century which has seen every other business change in profound and radical fashion. He still works by methods belonging to the day of the stage-coach and the horse canal-boat, while every other brain or hand worker in the country has been obliged to shape his methods into more or less conformity to those required by an age of steam and electricity.

Our commercial, banking, manufacturing, and transportation systems have been built up with a rapidity never before approached. We have accumulated wealth at an unheard-of rate. There has been grave injustice in the distribution of the wealth, our lawgivers having erred both by unwisdom in leaving the matter alone, and at times by even greater unwisdom when they interfered with it. But on the whole the growth and prosperity have been enormous; and yet we have allowed the basic industry of farming, the industry which underlies all economic life, to drift along haphazard, we have allowed the life of the dwellers in the open country to become more and more meagre, and their methods of production and of marketing to remain so primitive that their soil was impoverished and their profits largely usurped by others.

In 1880, one farmer in four was a tenant; and at that time the tenant was still generally a young man to whom the posi-

tion of tenant was merely an intermediate step between that of farm laborer and that of a farm owner. In 1910, over one farmer in three had become a tenant; and nowadays it becomes steadily more difficult to pass from the tenant to the owner stage. If the process continues unchecked, half a century hence we shall have deliberately permitted ourselves to plunge into the situation which brought chaos in Ireland, and which in England resulted in the complete elimination of the old yeomanry, so that nearly nine-tenths of English farmers to-day are tenants and the consequent class division is most ominous for the future. France and Germany are to-day distinctly better off than we are in this respect; and in New Zealand, where there is an excellent system of land distribution, only one-seventh of the farmers are tenants.

If the tendencies that have produced such a condition continue to work unchecked, no prophetic power is needed to foretell disaster to the nation. Therefore, the one hopeless attitude, in this as in recent international matters, is "watchful waiting," sitting still and doing nothing to prepare for or to avert disaster. It is far better to try experiments, even when we are not certain how these experiments will turn out, or when we are certain that the proposed plan contains elements of folly as well as elements of wisdom. Better "trial and error" than no trial at all. And the service test, the test of actual experiment, is the only conclusive test. It is only the attempt in actual practice to realize a realizable ideal that contains hope. Mere writing and oratory and enunciation of theory, with no attempt to secure the service test, amount to nothing.

This applies to the tenancy problem. It also applies to every other farming problem. As regards each, let us test the plans for reform, so far as may be, by actual practice.

For many of these plans the several States offer themselves as natural laboratories, where experiments can be tried when conditions and public opinion are right; and this although the permanent remedies must ultimately, at least in major part, be national. It is exceedingly interesting to watch such an ex-

periment as that seemingly to be tried in North Dakota. This is a farming State, where the farming is the predominant interest, and inasmuch as all reforms cost money, and as even advisable reforms become utterly disastrous if in spending money upon them we treat "the sky as the limit," and decline to consider the proportion between what the reform achieves and what it costs, it is well that the farmers themselves should pay a good proportion of the cost of reforms necessary to and peculiarly affecting themselves. In North Dakota, in addition to matters like hail insurance, it is proposed that the State shall purchase and operate grain-elevators, mills, and terminals and other business instrumentalities of vital concern to farmers. I most heartily commend the earnest effort the leaders in the movement have made actually to better conditions; and I say this although from the facts at my command I judge that most of the work which it is thus proposed to have done by the State could be done better by co-operative societies among the farmers themselves. Present conditions should certainly be changed. To keep them unchanged is to act in a spirit of mere Toryism. From the North Dakota experiment, when put in actual practice, we can learn some things to follow and some things to avoid; and perhaps we can also learn to be wise in time, and, by sane determination to put in practice reforms that we are reasonably sure will have no bad effects, avoid the sad necessity of paying with our own skins for experiments which probably will have bad effects.

I greatly prefer to see the government leave untouched whatever the corporations *under government supervision* can do; and just as far as possible I want to see all the corporations made into co-operative associations. But there are things so important that the government must do them, if it is only through such exercise of collective power that they can be done.

Our object must be (1) to make the tenant-farmer a land-owner; (2) to eliminate as far as possible the conditions which produce the shifting, seasonal, tramp type of labor, and to give the farm laborer a permanent status, a career as a farmer, for

which his school education shall fit him, and which shall open to him the chance of in the end earning the ownership in fee of his own farm; (3) to secure co-operation among the small landowners, so that their energies shall produce the best possible results; (4) by progressive taxation or in other fashion to break up and prevent the formation of great landed estates, especially in so far as they consist of unused agricultural land; (5) to make capital available for the farmers, and thereby put them more on an equality with other men engaged in business; (6) to care for the woman on the farm as much as for the man, and to eliminate the conditions which now so often tend to make her life one of gray and sterile drudgery; (7) to do this primarily through the farmer himself, but also, when necessary, by the use of the entire collective power of the people of the country; for the welfare of the farmer is the concern of all of us.

The most important thing to do is to make the tenant-farmer a farm-owner. He must be financed so that he can acquire title to the land. In New Zealand the government buys land and sells it to small holders at the price paid with a low rate of interest. Perhaps our government could try this plan, or else could outright advance the money, charging three and a half per cent interest. Default in payments—which should of course be on easy terms—would mean that the land reverted to the government. The experience of the firms which have loaned to the largest number of people to acquire homes on small instalment payments has been that foreclosure occurs in a very small percentage of cases; but it would have to be absolutely understood that no failure to pay would be tolerated; for such toleration would in the end discredit the whole system, and work ruin to the honest and hard-working men who would pay. We could follow the precedents established in connection with the reclamation act in the arid and semiarid regions of the West. It would be desirable, and entirely feasible, to try the experiment first on a small scale, in experimental fashion; and then to apply it on a larger and larger

scale with the modifications shown to be necessary in actual practice.

To break up the big estates it might be best to try the graduated land tax, or else to equalize taxes as between used and unused agricultural land, which would prevent farm land being held for speculative purposes. There can without question be criticism of either proposal. If any better proposal can be made *and tried* we can cheerfully support it and be guided in our theories by the way it turns out. But we ought to insist on something being done—not merely talked about. Every one is agreed that we ought to get more people “back to the land”; but talk on the subject is utterly useless unless we put it in concrete shape and secure a “service test,” even although it costs some money to furnish the means for doing what we say must be done.

As regards furnishing capital to the farmer, the first need is that we shall understand that this is essential, and is recognized to be essential in most civilized lands outside of Russia and the United States, but especially in Denmark, France, and Germany. Our farmers must have working capital. The present laws for providing farm loans do not meet the most important case of all, that of the tenant-farmer, and do not adequately provide for the landowning farmer. An immense amount of new capital—an amount to be reckoned in billions of dollars—is needed for the proper development of the farms of the United States, in order that our farmers may pass from the position of underproduction per acre, may improve and fertilize their lands, and so stock them as both to secure satisfactory returns upon the money invested and also enormously to increase the amount of food produced, while permanently enhancing the value of the land. Lack of capital on the part of the farmer inevitably means soil exhaustion and therefore diminished production. The farmer who is to prosper must have capital; only the prosperous can really meet the needs of the consumer; and in this, as in every other kind of honest

business, the only proper basis of success is benefit to both buyer and seller, producer and consumer.

To achieve certain of these objects it may be necessary to make use of the government; but wherever possible it is better to use private, usually corporate or co-operative, effort. I believe that the day is coming when many kinds of successful business will admit, and insist on, an alloy of philanthropy. It often adds to, instead of diminishing, business success, to become within reasonable limits one's brother's keeper. (Is it necessary to say that in this as in everything else there is need of common sense?)

The Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society has actually tried the experiment of a land-bank to help men become farmers. In seventeen years, at an outlay of two million dollars, it has established thirty-five hundred families on farms; and the losses have been small. The manager of this society is now head of the Federal Land Bank in Springfield, Mass. He has proposed an agrarian land-bank to do for the United States as a whole what it has already taken part in successfully doing for some thousands of people. Such a land-bank would aid tenants to become landowners, agricultural laborers to become small farmers, and landless immigrants with a farming past to go out on the land—where we need them.

California, under the wise administration of Hiram Johnson, pointed the path for advance in this as in so many other directions. She has begun the development of five thousand acres, not by merely throwing the land open for settlement, but by building roads, schoolhouses, and even certain "improvements" on farms of suitable size; the effort has been to help the man who wishes to farm to go into the country and there find livable conditions.

Whenever farmers themselves have the intelligence and energy to work through co-operative societies this is far better than having the state undertake the work. Community self-help is normally preferable to using the machinery of government for tasks to which it is unaccustomed. This applies to

the ownership of granaries, slaughter-houses, and the like. There are in Europe co-operative farmers' associations which own and run at a profit many such institutions; and when this is shown to be the case, the other owners of such agencies face the accomplished fact; and it often becomes possible for the farmers then to deal with them on a satisfactory basis.

In Europe these great farmer co-operative associations sometimes control the whole machinery by which their products are marketed. Each little district has its own co-operative group. The groups of all the districts in the state are united again in a large co-operative unit. In this way they do collectively what is beyond the power of any one farmer individually to accomplish. By sending their shipments to market they move them in great bulk-quantities at the lowest possible cost. They contract for long periods ahead and sell in the most advantageous market. Middlemen are eliminated. The labor of moving farm products is reduced to a minimum. But these enterprises are not state enterprises. The relationship of the state to them is confined to supervision, just as our bank-examiners supervise the association of stockholders who come together to do a banking business; and certain general regulations that are in the interest of public policy are imposed upon them. A standard of equity and fair dealing is maintained by the forcing of the publication of accounts and by supplying disinterested examiners who see to it that equity is preserved by honesty and fairness among those associated in the enterprise.

Of course the personal equation is all-important; the best of schemes will work badly if we force it against the fundamental issues of fairness and honesty.

A single farmer to-day is no match for the corporations, railroads, and business enterprises with which he must deal. Organized into co-operative associations, however, the farmers' power would be enormously increased. The principle upon which such co-operative groups are formed is very simple. The profits are divided partly in the shape of a rebate that is

paid in proportion to the volume of business done for each member. The control, however, of the association does not depend upon the number of shares that a member may own but rests upon the democratic basis of one man, one vote. In such associations they elect their own officers who are specifically qualified to deal with the agricultural problems of the association. These officers are subject to the direct control of those whose business and interests they handle. In this way politics is kept out of the farmer's business. Through co-operative organization our farmers can build up their strength.

And normally they can do better in this way than by recourse to an extreme form of state Socialism. The farmers of Denmark, Holland (and parts of France, North Italy, and Germany) have pointed the way. In Denmark on a country road in the afternoon one can see a man wearing the cap of the co-operative association push a light wagon through the village, gathering from each house a dozen or two dozen eggs and a roll of butter and cheese. As he takes it he stamps the eggs and records the quantity delivered in the record-book of the member. At the end of his three or four mile trip he meets a half-dozen other men at a small transfer station owned by the co-operative association. There wagons or trucks load the products brought in and haul them to a near-by railroad-station where the trucks from five or six transfer stations gather and fill a railroad-car. The railroad-car starts and in its journey to the seaport meets several dozen additional cars loaded with the products of the association. At the seaport a ship-load is waiting and the entire train-load of products is loaded and started for England. In England this ship is unloaded in the warehouse of an English co-operative association. The products—butter, eggs, cheese, milk, and other standard farm outputs—have been contracted for on a sliding scale on a yearly basis in advance. Between the peasant farmer of Denmark and the workingman consumer in London there is no middleman. Handling charges are reduced to the minimum. The gain goes to the producer in the shape of almost the full

price and to the consumer in the shape of reduced cost. The co-operative farmers' association of Denmark buys saltpetre and nitrates in Chili by the ship-load, and distributes them as they are unloaded in car-load lots to the co-operative associations in every village at a handling charge that is almost insignificantly small. This is the right way for farmers to organize.

Examples of what is done in foreign lands are of great use; yet we must always adapt them to our own needs, and not merely copy them; for no scheme of national betterment can succeed unless it takes into account national characteristics. Experiments in our own country therefore have a peculiar guidance value for us. For this reason those interested in the problem of farm life can well afford to pay some attention to what is at this moment being done in the Sandhills district of central North Carolina.

This is a district of sandy, and rather easily exhausted, soil. It was settled in the middle of the eighteenth century, chiefly by Highland Scotch. It was then covered with valuable pine forest, and there was good, natural pasture. The people worked at lumbering and raised cattle. Gradually the timber was cut off, and the wild pasture grazed out—in our usual wasteful fashion. A rather poor type of tillage was left—cotton and tobacco being the best crops. The people were of fine stock; but the schools were poor, the land was poor, the methods of farming were poor, the roads were bad, life was hard and flattened and joyless, and there was no idea of co-operation among the farmers—or indeed among the townsmen.

Then, a score of years ago, there began to be an uneasy consciousness that things were going backward rather than forward, and that some joint effort must be made or there would be complete dry-rot. The effort was begun, with the usual preliminary struggles and failures. Enthusiastic reformers attempted to better matters by wrong-headed action; and "hard-headed, practical men" sourly refused to take part in any action at all. But gradually leaders were developed.

Gradually wisdom grew out of the soil of disheartening experience.

The first concerted effort at joint action, made under the lead of half a dozen public-spirited citizens, was an attempted organization confined to the farmers—the cotton, fruit, and tobacco growers. The objects were to solve the marketing problem, to devise a system of rural credit to the small farmer, and to spread better knowledge of agricultural methods. This effort failed, one prime cause of the failure being the fact that the townspeople of the section, the merchants and business men who were in reality just as vitally interested in the agricultural prosperity of the section as the farmers themselves, were not asked to join. They had more ready money than the farmers, they were more accustomed to act together and were better acquainted with the outside world, and it was found that their help was essential.

So the organization was transformed into a board of trade, which was pledged to promote the development of the section as a whole and the interests of all classes of its citizens. It is composed of farmers, merchants, doctors—all the leading citizens. By its activities it has shown that it represents the organized Sandhills community, covering an area as large as Rhode Island and having a population of some ten thousand souls.

The Board of Trade works in practical fashion; which means that while it tries to educate the people to their real needs, it also commands their confidence by meeting the—usually less important—needs to which they are fully awake. Therefore it advertises fully—but honestly—the advantages of the Sandhills region for settlers and has been instrumental in getting a number to come in. If it did only this, it would be no more important than a thousand other local advertising committees. If it did not do this, it would soon cease to appeal to the ordinary man, and would sink into the well-meaning impotence of so many “highbrow” associations for a species of uplift which the average man does not regard as

practical. This board is a practical organization with intelligently high purposes. No organization can last long enough even to make a beginning in doing practical good to the people unless it is practical; and unless it actually functions instead of confining itself to manifestoes and advice. Great is the persuasive power of concrete action!

The people of the district are working out the two problems of schools and health work. These two problems are, of course, themselves merely portions of the great problem of securing in our struggling, individualistic country democracy the proper regulation by coherent community co-operation and self-control. In other words, our affair is to get our democracy to discipline itself; a difficult task, but essential to perform if we are to become a really great nation.

The Derby Memorial School in the Sandhills represents the consolidation of three small, struggling backwoods schools. There are now over one hundred and fifty pupils in the school; those that live more than two and one-half miles away are transported in cheap motors at a cost of eight cents per child per day. The school is an excellent school—not markedly different from other first-class country schools in different country regions. There is a school paper, edited by the pupils; the girls set the type and the boys do the printing. There is a library of one thousand two hundred volumes, used as much by the older people of the community as by the children—and it speaks well for the taste of the community that "Treasure Island" is on the whole the most popular book. Not much has been done in the way of vocational training, for the community is conservative and is wedded to old-fashioned book-learning; but the school is being used more and more as a community centre, and shows what important assets schools can become in neighborhood betterment.

The Sandhills Farm Life School is an agricultural school, started by the Board of Trade, under the State law. The principles of this school are: (1) That the children shall be trained primarily for life in the country, not by books simply,

but by actually doing the various things at school that they will be called upon to do in later life. (2) That the school shall turn out good citizens, taught to co-operate, and with a sense of obligation to their community and their nation. Both these ends are being measurably achieved.

There are eighty scholars in the school. All the work is done by the boys and girls themselves. The boys are under military discipline. They dress in khaki, they belong to a rifle club, they drill. Their instructor was at a Plattsburg camp. Some of the boys were at the Plum Island camp last year. The boys do all the work of the farm, which deals chiefly with animal industry; and they fire the furnaces, cut wood, build the roads, etc. There is some theoretical agriculture and laboratory work; but the emphasis is placed on actually doing the job. The school is not an institution of "higher learning." It is not intended to turn out boys who will seek clerkships or become school-teachers. The effort is to turn out farmers who will farm.

As regards the girls, the effort is to turn out first-class farmers' wives. They are all dressed in uniforms which they made themselves. They are given a setting-up drill which has proved most beneficial. They do all the housework and cooking, learning by actual practice to do it efficiently and economically. In the kitchen they use the implements of the kind they will have in their own houses—not those used in large hotels. They work hard, but not to the point of drudgery and exhaustion; and in the evenings there is singing, dancing, games, or lectures. Surely this is a school along the right lines!

One of the things with which the Board of Trade has grappled is the health problem. As in so many country communities the health of the children is below par. Half of them have hookworm; and there are other common complaints. Some day or other we shall follow Germany's lead in having the government take care of the health of the ordinary citizen—and of his welfare in other respects also—in return for requiring from him training and service to the state in time of

war. At present our physical efficiency is low compared with that of Germany; and private organizations have to partially make good the failure of governmental action.

Three years ago the board instituted fairs, the first ever held in the region. A local paper, the *Pinehurst Outlook*, describes one of the fairs: There were bands; and parties of girl dancers—an unusual and very pretty feature; and the Boy Scouts and the boys who had been at the Plum Island camp paraded in company with the Confederate Veterans, all escorting the national flag. Everything was by home talent; there wasn't an imported show in the whole fair. Then there were the usual county-fair exhibits; and the girls' canning clubs, and the boys' pig and corn clubs—all managed by the girls and boys who had actually done the work. And there was an exhibition by booths of what the community expected to become; a credit-union booth, a co-operative sire owners' association booth, a county-hospital booth, a consolidated-school booth, etc., etc.

The Board of Trade does not merely write manifestoes. It reduces its preaching to practice. In the fall of 1914 cotton went to six cents a pound, and the situation in the South became critical. Every form of wild relief scheme was suggested. But the Sandhills Board of Trade acted with equal energy and common sense. It borrowed one hundred thousand dollars in Boston, built warehouses at various points in the section and loaned the money on cotton warehouse receipts at eight cents per pound and six per cent interest. Collateral was provided by patriotic members of the community. It was a striking case of united community action for mutual self-protection; something peculiarly needed in the South, and a long step toward the co-operative spirit and away from the "every man for himself and the community be damned" spirit.

The board employs a secretary, who is also a farm demonstrator-agent for the whole section—a farmer's boy, the son of a poor Kansas farmer, who has worked his way through college, and knows his subject from the ground up no less than from above down. In a recent paper this gentleman put what

he was striving to do so well, and what he says is so applicable to so many country communities, that I cannot forbear quoting it:

"Whenever the late Marcus Tully Cicero emptied the Roman Senate in order to fill a modern text-book, he usually devoted a considerable part of his speech to matters which he said 'I shall pass over in silence.' You have asked me to talk about the use of the local paper in community development. I think I have something to say about the use of the local paper; but just what to do in order to develop a community is a subject that 'I shall pass over in silence.' We Sandhillers are making progress, and much that we are doing is, we trust, worthy of being put into operation elsewhere. If any of you care to know just what we think most worth doing for the development of our section, I will be glad to give you a copy of a circular letter written to the members of the Sandhills Board of Trade. From it you will learn that we divide our work into two parts. The first is the stimulating of immigration by means of advertising. To get our section before the eyes of prospective buyers we have used booklets, magazines, lectures, lantern-slides, and exhibits. The second and more important part of our work is to prevent emigration by making our community a place which people cannot afford to leave. The first step toward the accomplishment of this is to work out more profitable methods of crop production, less expensive ways of marketing, and all else that makes for prosperity, for as wise old Doctor Knapp persistently pointed out, without prosperity all else must fail. But this is not enough. *The philosophy of the belly will never get a community very far.* Statistics prove this, for we find that where farm and village people are making money the fastest, there they are going to the cities the fastest, because in the cities they find schools, household comforts, entertainment, society, and other things for which they wish to spend their money while they are well; and when they are sick in the cities they can find something more than antediluvian hospital facilities at some-

thing less than multimillionaire prices. That is why we are working so hard to improve our rural schools, build up a successful farm-life school, establish our hospital, get public-health work going, and to do all else that is mentioned in this circular letter, and which I, like Cicero, now that I have stated the matter pretty fully, 'shall not mention but shall pass over in silence.' "

The secretary, assisted by the county agent, gives many lectures with a stereopticon at the schools, thereby meeting inadvertently one of the greatest needs of Southern country life—the need for social life and amusement. They organize those practical children's agricultural clubs—girls' poultry clubs, boys' pig and corn clubs, and the like—which are such forces in the development of the South, where live stock is a necessity to a perfectly balanced farming system, while few farmers can make a success of handling live stock unless they have begun as boys. Soil improvement is, of course, one prime object—and the secretary is really applying his ideas, which, I am sorry to say, is too often not the case with theoretically excellent farm demonstration work. In farming the theoretical man can often help the practical man—but if he is merely a theorist, even although a very well-trained theorist, he is much more apt to be wrong than the practical man he starts in to educate. Yet there must be men of vision to lead. In the South the exclusively "practical" man has gone in for "all-cotton" farming; and "all cotton" means a submerged civilization.

The secretary has also organized two credit unions which are working successfully, one at the Derby school and one at the Sandhills Farm Life School. Under the North Carolina Credit Union law the farmers can organize associations very similar to the Raffeissen Credit Unions of Germany. The treasurer of the one at the Derby school writes me as follows:

"We have loaned out to the farmers this summer about four hundred dollars of their own money. The whole community is tied together on each other's notes. Each man who owns stock or has deposits in the union takes a pretty vital

interest in the kind of farming that the men who have borrowed money are doing. It is simply applying the Christian principle to actual life: 'Am I my brother's keeper?' You certainly are if you are a member of a credit union and have gone on his note for money to buy a hog with. It is your business to see that he buys a good hog and feeds it properly and doesn't waste the money on an organ or a graphophone, for if he doesn't succeed, then the community and you don't succeed.

"This fall all the loans of my credit union are being paid promptly and in full. I find that the farmers consider their obligations to the credit union of the first importance. For next year we are buying fertilizer co-operatively on money borrowed by the credit union. The farmers are only paying six per cent for their loans. In buying from the fertilizer companies they were paying from ten per cent to forty per cent. I never thought the credit unions would work in this individualistic society but I am now convinced that if people of education and with the desire to lead will take off their coats and get down and fight the battles of the people out with them, almost anything can be made to succeed."

The section stands well in roads, thanks to a leading citizen who combined vision and common sense. He built the first sand-clay road, of a type which is both cheap and serviceable. The first section was built for a quarter of a mile parallel to an old sand road. Then he gave a barbecue to the neighbors; loaded a wagon with more cotton than anybody present had ever seen pulled by a team before, and sent it up the sand-clay road. The horses pulled it easily; but as soon as it ended and they reached the sand road they came to a dead halt. This practical demonstration won the day, and the section is now covered by real roads, built by the people themselves.

What is being done in the Sandhills district along this line is being done on genuinely patriotic grounds. Those who have taken the lead frankly say that they are interested less from the **mondial-humanitarian** than from the national-Ameri-

can standpoint. As one of them has expressed it: "I want to play on a strong team and I want my team—the United States—to win when it comes to a show-down."

The Board of Trade has arranged with the State Board of Health for a complete medical examination of all the school-children. It has built at the Farm Life School a hospital with two six-bed wards, an operating-room, and equipment. It has employed a competent resident nurse—and she is assisted by the schoolgirls, who thus learn the rudiments of nursing. It has aided the doctors of the Sandhills to organize a hospital staff; and a marked impetus has been given the medical and surgical work of the district. The hospital is not a charitable institution; it is run on the theory that it is to be self-supporting, and that every patient must pay something.

One of the most active organizers and promoters of this Sandhills work has recently summed it up as follows:

"Our organization, such as it is, has many defects and we have had many failures and many disappointments. We have not accomplished half of what we set out to accomplish. But we have done two things. We have inspired in the people of this section a spirit of real co-operation that is rare everywhere in our country, and perhaps especially rare in the South. We have succeeded in making them see the advantage of pulling together and occasionally sacrificing themselves and their interests for the welfare of the community. That only a few men have done most of the leading is only natural. Only a few will lead under any circumstances. It is the number that will follow that counts. We have also imposed on the community certain institutions that eventually will be of great benefit to it and which the people will eventually support in full. In my estimation we have gone quite far in making a democratic community discipline itself. We endeavor to make our people more prosperous, with fuller, happier lives; but above all we endeavor to make them less selfish and readier to sacrifice themselves for an ideal."

This is the spirit, both practical and lofty, deferential both

to common sense and to idealism, considerate of both one's own needs and of those of one's fellows, in which we should approach the problems of our farming population—and all our other problems also.

THE WORD OF MICAH; THE RELIGION OF SERVICE

WHEN our troops made ready to sail across the seas the New York Bible Society distributed among them little Pocket Testaments, and asked me to write a message which should go with each Testament. I wrote as follows:

"The teachings of the New Testament are foreshadowed in Micah's verse: 'What more doth the Lord require of thee than to do justice, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God.'

"Do justice; and therefore fight valiantly against the armies of Germany and Turkey, for these nations in this crisis stand for the reign of Moloch and Beelzebub on this earth.

"Love mercy; treat prisoners well; succor the wounded; treat every woman as if she were your sister; care for the little children, and be tender with the old and helpless.

"Walk humbly; you will do so if you study the life and teachings of the Savior.

"May the God of Justice and Mercy have you in His keeping."

The most perfect machinery of government will not keep us as a nation from destruction if there is not within us a soul. No abounding material prosperity shall avail us if our spiritual senses atrophy. The foes of our own household shall surely prevail against us unless there be in our people an inner life which finds its outward expression in a morality not very widely different from that preached by the seers and prophets of Judea when the grandeur that was Greece and the glory that was Rome still lay in the future.

In his Farewell Address to his countrymen, Washington said: "Morality is a necessary spring of popular government . . . and let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

Washington lacked Lincoln's gift of words; but not Lincoln himself possessed more robust common sense in the thought that lies back of words. In this case the thought is not new—only a few good thoughts are new; but it was given expression at a time when the European movement with which the American people were in most complete sympathy—the French Revolution—had endeavored to destroy the abuses of priestcraft and bigotry by abolishing not only Christianity but religion, in the sense in which religion is properly understood. The result was a cynical disregard of morality and a carnival of cruelty and bigotry, committed in the names of reason and liberty, which equalled anything ever done by Torquemada and the fanatics of the Inquisition in the names of religion and order. Washington wished his fellow countrymen to walk clear of such folly and iniquity. As in all cases where he dealt with continuing causes his words are as well worth pondering now as when they were written.

Washington was certainly not thinking of dogmatic theology; and still less need we lay much emphasis upon it when we speak of the need of religion in our national life. How do I define religion? I use the term as it is used in Boutroux's "Science and Religion," in Badé's "The Old Testament in the Light of To-day." But I am not thinking primarily of the philosophers, or of those who, in Washington's phrase, possess "minds of peculiar structure." I am thinking of the rest of us, of those of whom Washington thought when he demanded a national morality based on religious principles. I am thinking of the mass of the men who make up this nation,

who toil in time of peace and fight in time of war, and of the women who are their wives and helpmeets, and who toil and suffer and are brave and know the joy of life, as they go through the years beside their men.

These men and women profess many different creeds; and perhaps the priceless boon we have won here in America is the entire freedom to lead each the spiritual life which is demanded by his or her conscience, and to seek truth as that conscience demands. Yet normally a man can work best when he works with his fellows; and in religious matters this means that he must ordinarily find the outlet for his power and his sympathies, and the satisfaction for his spiritual hunger, in some church, whether that church be Protestant or Catholic, or as separate from most institutions of recognized orthodoxy as Charles Stelzle's Labor Temple or Felix Adler's Ethical Culture School.

In this actual world a churchless community, a community where men have abandoned and scoff at or ignore their religious needs, is a community on the rapid down-grade. It is true that occasional individuals or families may have nothing to do with church or with religious practices and observances and yet maintain the highest standard of refined ethical obligation. But this does not affect the case in the world as it now is, any more than the fact that exceptional men and women under exceptional conditions have disregarded the marriage tie without moral harm to themselves interferes with the larger fact that such disregard if at all common means the complete moral disintegration of the body politic. In the pioneer days of the West we found it an unfailing rule that after a community had existed for a certain length of time either a church was built or else the community began to go down-hill. In those old communities in the Eastern States which have gone backward, it is noticeable that the retrogression has been both marked by and accentuated by a rapid decline in church membership and work; the two facts being so interrelated that each stands to the other partly as a cause and partly as an effect.

This has occurred not only in the "poor-white" communities of the South, but in the small hamlets of the "abandoned-farm" region of New England and New York. As the people grow slack and dispirited they slip from all effective interest in church activities; and on the other hand, the building up of a strong country church or Young Men's Christian Association in such a community often has an astonishing effect in putting such virile life into them that their moral betterment stimulates a marked physical betterment in their homes and farms. For all those whose lives are led on a plane above the grimmest and barest struggle for existence church attendance and church work of some kind mean both the cultivation of the habit of feeling some responsibility for others and the sense of braced moral strength which prevents a relaxation of one's own fibre.

That man is unfortunate who has not owed much, in teaching and in companionship, to hard-working priest or hard-working parson. In my own experience I recall priest after priest whose disinterested parish work has represented one continuous battle for civilization and humanity. Out of my own experience I recall case after case where the clergyman and his wife—who have themselves enjoyed no rest on Sunday—are engaged all the week long in a series of wearing and important and humdrum tasks for making hard lives a little easier and gray lives a little brighter; and both this man and this woman, in the vast majority of cases, are engaged in constant self-denial, are doing much for humble folk, of whom few of us think, and are keeping up a brave show on narrow means. Surely the average man ought to sympathize with such work and help such workers; and he cannot do this if his attitude is merely that of an unsympathetic outsider.

The church must fit itself for the practical betterment of mankind if it is to attract and retain the fealty of the men best worth holding and using. The betterment may come in many ways. The great exhorter or preacher, the priest or clergyman or rabbi, the cardinal or bishop or revivalist or Sal-

vation Army commander, may, by sheer fervor and intensity, and by kindling some flame of the spirit which mystics have long known to be real and which scientists now admit to be real, rouse numbed conscience to life and free seared souls from sin; and then the roused conscience and the freed soul will teach the bodies in which they dwell how to practise the great law of service. But such stormy awakening of the spirit, though often of high usefulness, loses all savor unless, in the times of calm which follow on the storm, the workaday body makes good in its round of life and labor the promise given by the spirit in its hour of stress.

Far more often the betterment must come through work which does not depend on the gift of tongues; that is, through consistently persistent labor conducted with wary wisdom no less than with broad humanity. This may take the old form of individual service to the individual; of visiting and comforting the widow and the fatherless and the sore-stricken; of personal sympathy and personal aid. It may take the form of organized philanthropy—a form not merely beneficial but absolutely essential where a dense population increases the mass of suffering and also the mass of imposture and of that weakness of will which, if permitted, becomes parasitic helplessness; but a form which needs incessant supervision lest it lose all vitality and become empty and stereotyped so as finally to amount to little except a method of giving salaries to those administering the charity.

Under the tense activity of modern social and industrial conditions the church, if it is to give real leadership, must grapple zealously, fearlessly, and cool-headedly with the problems of social and industrial justice. Unless it is the poor man's church it is not a Christian church at all in any real sense. The rich man needs it, Heaven knows; and is needed by it. But, unless in the church he can work with all his toiling brothers for a common end, for their mutual benefit and for the benefit of those without its walls, the church has come short of its mission and its possibilities. Unless the

church in a mining town or factory town or railway centre is a leading force in the effort to secure cleaner and more wholesome surroundings, moral and physical, for the people, unless it concerns itself with their living and working conditions, with their workshops and houses and playgrounds, with their chance to open a cleft upward into the life of full development, it has forfeited its right to the foremost place in the regard of men. By their fruits shall ye know them! We judge a man nowadays by his conduct rather than by his dogma. And, to keep its hold on mankind the church must, as in its early days, obey the great law of service, for it shall not live by ceremonial and by dogmatic theology alone.

There are plenty of clergymen of all denominations who do obey this law; they render inestimable service. Yet these men can do but little unless keen, able, zealous laymen give them aid; and this aid is beyond comparison most effective when rendered by men and women who are themselves active participants in the work of the church. It was aid thus rendered which enabled Doctor Rainsford to give St. George's Church a leadership in service which at the time was equalled by no other Protestant church in New York City; it is aid thus rendered which has made the St. Vincent de Paul Society, when it is under the lead of a man like Judge de Lacy, of Washington, a potent force against the "foes of our own household." Such churches and church organizations foster a fine feeling of fellowship. Surely if our churches are not democratic the root of the matter is not in us; and therefore the church is beyond all other places that in which men of every social grade and degree of wealth should come together on a footing of brotherhood and of equality of rights and obligations. There, arrogance and envy are equally out of place; there, every sincere man should feel stirred to exceptional effort to see questions at issue as his brother sees them, and to act toward that brother as he would wish, under reversed conditions, the brother to act toward him. Surely half of our labor troubles would disappear if a sufficient number of

the leaders on both sides had worked for common ends in the same churches and religious organizations, and approached one another's positions with an earnest desire to understand them and respect them.

One important thing for the layman interested in church work to do is to make the church an instrument for securing the healthy happiness of young people. The influence of the Puritan has been most potent for strength and for virtue in our national life. But his sombre austerity left one evil: the tendency to confound pleasure and vice, a tendency which, in the end, is much more certain to encourage vice than to discourage pleasure—a tendency especially strong among the rigid formalists, including the ultrasabbatarian formalists, who remain true only to what is least desirable in Puritanism.

Let every layman interested in church work battle against this tendency. Let him proceed on the assumption that innocent pleasure which does not interfere with things even more desirable is in itself a good; that this is as true of one day of the week as of another; and that one function of the church should be the encouragement of happiness in small things as well as in large. No general rules can be laid down in such a matter; the customs and feelings and peculiar conditions of each community must be taken into account and so far as possible respected. Therefore I can on this point speak only of my own experience. I have known a village baseball nine, which, because after church on Sunday afternoons it held games in a field a mile away, was a potent help in keeping young men out of the "blind-pig" saloons. It is only very backward church organizations that now object to music. But many good people still put dancing under a ban. I believe that dancing, like all other healthy and proper pastimes, should be encouraged in the parish-house; and this because I dread the professional dance-hall, where liquor can be obtained and where foolish girls go with foolish or vicious young men, while there are no older men and women to look after them. If the natural de-

sire of young people for pleasure is not given a healthy outlet it is only too apt to find an unhealthy outlet.

If good people feel that in what I have said I have slurred dogma and unduly exalted conduct, I am sorry; but each man must bear testimony as his soul bids; and the teachings to which I turn are those which impress this lesson.

Isaiah, the seer, the man of the vision, condemned ritual and formalism, and exalted conduct, when he thundered: "Hear the word of the Lord; to what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? I delight not in the blood of bullocks. Your appointed feasts my soul hateth. Cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."

Amos—no son of a prophet, but a laboring man, a herdsman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit—said: "Hear ye the Word; I despise your feast-days; I will not accept your burnt offerings. But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream; hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate." What is this but insistence on the great law of service? In peace and in war we must spend and be spent, in the endless battle for right against wrong; deeds, not words, alone shall save us.

"By their fruits ye shall know them," is a teaching of the Sermon on the Mount; and James, spurning the unctuous professions of righteousness by those who do not make good what they preach, by those who profess a faith which is dead—which was never alive—because it bears no fruit in works, sums up the matter by insisting that we must be doers and not hearers only, because "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world."

I know not how philosophers may ultimately define religion; but from Micah to James it has been defined as service to one's fellow men rendered by following the great rule of justice and mercy, of wisdom and righteousness.

THE PARASITE WOMAN; THE ONLY INDISPENSABLE CITIZEN

OF all species of silliness the silliest is the assertion sometimes made that the woman whose primary life-work is taking care of her home and children is somehow a "parasite woman." It is such a ridiculous inversion of the truth that it ought not to be necessary even to allude to it. Nevertheless, it is acted upon by a large number of selfish, brutal, or thoughtless men, and it is screamed about by a number of foolish women. Therefore a word of common sense on the matter may not be out of place.

There are men so selfish, so short-sighted, or so brutal, that they speak and act as if the fact of the man's earning money for his wife and children, while the woman bears the children, rears them, and takes care of the house for them and for the man, somehow entitles the man to be known as the head of the family, instead of a partner on equal terms with his wife, and entitles him to the exclusive right to dispose of the money and, as a matter of fact, to dispose of it primarily in his own interest.

There are professional feminists and so-called woman's-rights women who, curiously enough, seem to accept so much of this male attitude as implies that the partner who earns the money is the superior partner and that therefore the woman, who is physically weaker than the man, should accept as her primary duty the rivalling of him in the money-making business in which he will normally do better than she will; and they stigmatize as parasites the women who do the one great and all-essential work, without which no other activity by either sex amounts to anything.

Apply common sense and common decency to both attitudes. It is entirely right that any woman should be allowed to make any career for herself of which she is capable, whether or not it is a career followed by a man. She has the same right to be a lawyer, a doctor, a farmer, or a storekeeper that the man has to be a poet, an explorer, a politician, or a painter. There are women whose peculiar circumstances or whose peculiar attributes render it advisable that they should follow one of the professions named, just as there are men who can do most good to their fellows by following one of the careers above indicated for men. More than this. It is indispensable that such careers shall be open to women and that certain women shall follow them, if the women of a country, and therefore if the country itself, expect any development. In just the same way, it is indispensable that some men shall be explorers, artists, sculptors, literary men, politicians, if the country is to have its full life. Some of the best farmers are women, just as some of the best exploring work and scientific work has been done by women. There is a real need for a certain number of women doctors and women lawyers. Whether a writer or a painter or a singer is a man or a woman makes not the slightest difference, provided that the work he or she does is good.

All this I not merely admit; I insist upon it. But surely it is a mere statement of fact to add that the primary work of the average man and the average woman—and of all exceptional men and women whose lives are to be really full and happy—must be the great primal work of home-making and home-keeping, for themselves and their children.

The primary work of the man is to earn his own livelihood and the livelihood of those dependent upon him, to do his own business, whether his business is on a farm or in a shop, in the counting-room of a bank or the engine-cab of a train, in a mine or on a fishing-boat, or at the head of a telegraph or telephone line; whether he be an engineer or an inventor, a surgeon or a railway president, or a carpenter or a brakeman.

In other words, the man must do his business and do it well in order to support himself and his wife and children and in order that the nation may continue to exist. I appreciate to the full the work of the politician, the poet, the sculptor, and the explorer; and yet it is mere common sense to say that they cannot do any work at all unless their average fellow countryman does his business, whether with hand or brain, pen or pick, in such fashion that the country is on a decent industrial basis. If it is not, nobody will have any house or anything to eat or any means of getting around; and therefore there won't be any poets or politicians. This is not exalting one class at the expense of another. On the contrary it recognizes the absolute need from the standpoint of national greatness and permanent achievement, that there shall be some men in a state the worth of whose activities cannot be and is not measured or expressed by money. But there is also the absolute need that this shall not be true of the average man—and, as a matter of fact, it is a great deal better even if it is not true of the exceptional man—if, in addition to his non-remunerative work, he is able by his activities to pay his way as he goes.

Now, this also applies to women. Exceptional women—like Julia Ward Howe or Harriet Beecher Stowe or Mrs. Homer—are admirable wives and mothers, admirable keepers of the home, and yet workers of genius outside the home. Such types, of course, are rare whether among men or women. There are also exceptional—and less happy, and normally less useful—women whose great service to the state and community is rendered outside the home, and who have no family life; just as is true of exceptional—and normally less happy and less useful—men. But exactly as it is true that no nation will prosper unless the average man is a home-maker; that is, unless at some business or trade or profession, he earns enough to make a home for himself and his wife and children, and is a good husband and father; so no nation can exist at all unless the average woman is the home-keeper, the good wife, and unless she is the mother of a sufficient number of healthy chil-

dren to insure the race going forward and not backward. The indispensable work for the community is the work of the wife and the mother. It is the most honorable work. It is literally and exactly the vital work, the work which of course must be done by the average woman or the whole nation goes down with a crash.

Foolish men treat this fact as warranting them in all kinds of outcries against what they call "unwomanly" activities, including the outcry against the "higher education." This is nonsense. The woman is entitled to just as much education as the man; and it will not hurt her one particle more than it hurts the man. It may hurt a fool in either case; but no one else. However, justification is given these people who cry against the "higher education" by such utterances as those made the other day by a president of a women's college who fatuously announced, in advocacy of a small birth-rate, that it was better to have one child brought up in the best way than several not thus brought up. In the first place, there is no such antithesis as is thus implied, for, as a matter of fact, children in a family of children are usually better brought up than the only child, or than the child of a two-child family. In the next place, the statement, which must of course be taken to apply to the average individual, is on its face false, and the woman making it is not only unfit to be at the head of a female college, but is not fit to teach the lowest class in a kindergarten, for such teaching is not merely folly, but a peculiarly repulsive type of mean and selfish wickedness. The one-child family as an average ideal of course spells death; and death means the end of all hope. It is only while there is life that there is hope. A caste or a race or a nation, where the average family consists of one child, faces immediate extinction, and therefore it matters not one particle how this child is brought up. But if there are plenty of children then there is always hope. Even if they have not been very well brought up, they *have been brought up*, and so there is something to work on.

Just as the prime work for the average man must be earning

his livelihood and the livelihood of those dependent upon him, so the prime work for the average woman must be keeping the home and bearing and rearing her children. This woman is not a parasite on society. She *is* society. She is the one indispensable component part of society. Socially, the same standard of moral obligation applies both to her and to the man; and in addition she is entitled to all the chivalry of love and tenderness and reverence, if in gallant and fearless fashion she faces the risk and wearing labor entailed by her fulfilment of duty; but if she shirks her duty she is entitled to no more consideration than the man who shirks his. Unless she does her duty, the whole social system collapses. If she does her duty, she is entitled to all honor.

This last statement is the crucial statement. The one way to honor this indispensable woman, the wife and mother, is to insist that she be treated as the full equal of her husband. The birth-pangs make all men the debtors of all women; and the man is a wretched creature who does not live up to this obligation. Marriage should be a real partnership; a partnership of the soul, the spirit, and the mind, no less than of the body. An immediately practical feature of this partnership should be the full acknowledgment that the woman who keeps the home has exactly the same right to a say in the disposal of the money as the man who earns the money. Earning the money is not one whit more indispensable than keeping the home. Indeed, I am inclined to put it in the second place. The husband who does not give his wife, as a matter of right, her share in the disposal of the common funds is false to his duty. It is not a question of favor at all. Aside from the money to be spent on common account, for the household and the children, the wife has just the same right as the husband to her pin-money, her spending-money. It is not his money that he gives to her as a gift. It is hers as a matter of right. He may earn it; but she earns it because she keeps the house; and she has just as much right to it as he has. This is not a hostile right; it is a right which it is every woman's duty to ask and

which it should be every man's pride and pleasure to give without asking. He is a poor creature if he grudges it; and she in her turn is a poor creature if she does not insist upon her rights, just exactly as she is worse than a poor creature if she does not do her duty.

It is the men who insist upon women doing their full duty, who insist that the primary duty of the woman is in the home, who also have a right to insist that she is just as much entitled to the suffrage as is the man. We believe in equality of right, not in identity of functions. The woman must bear and rear the children, as her first duty to the state; and the man's first duty is to take care of her and the children. In neither case is it the exclusive duty. In neither case does it exclude the performance of other duties. The right to vote no more implies that a woman will neglect her home than that a man will neglect his business. Indeed, as regards one of the greatest and most useful of all professions, that of surgery and medicine, it is probably true that the average doctor's wife has more time for the performance of political duties than the average doctor himself.

There was a capital article recently in *The Britannia*, the official organ of the Women's Social and Political Union in England, by Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst. She was urging the full performance of duty in the war both by men and by women. In it she denounced the laboring men who did not whole-heartedly do everything in their power to aid the cause of England in the war. She spoke of the fact that working men and women in France could not understand how there could be strikes among workers in England during the war. She insisted that the prime duty during the war was for the men and women alike to put aside all other grievances and make common cause on behalf of the nation, and then to try to make the country a better one for their children to live in. It was a capital article, and it should be read by men and women here just as much as by men and women in England. It is because I believe that the American woman will in time

of need and when the facts are brought home to her take such a position as Mrs. Pankhurst has thus taken, that I emphatically believe that she should have the right just as much as the man to vote, and, what is even more important, that she shall be given her full rights in connection with the performance by her as wife and mother of those indispensable duties which make her the one absolutely indispensable citizen of this Republic.

I end as I began by speaking of the good woman who is the best of all good citizens. I speak of goodness in the largest sense, as implying also wisdom and courage—for the woman who is either a fool or a coward is not a really useful member of the commonwealth. I ask that we search our hearts, that we cast aside selfish sloth and craven love of ease, and dare to live nobly and bravely. I make my appeal to all the good and wise and brave men and women of our Republic. I make it in the name of the larger Americanism, which means fealty to the highest national ideal. I speak for those who greatly prize peace, but who prize duty and justice and honor even more than peace. I believe in that ardent patriotism which will make a nation true to itself by making it secure justice for all within its own borders, and then so far as may be, aid in every way in securing just and fair treatment for all the nations of mankind. I believe that the people of the United States have in them the power to rise to the level of their needs, their opportunities, and their obligations. But they can only do so if they face the facts, however unpleasant. For some years we have as a people shown an appalling unfitness for world leadership on behalf of the democratic ideal; for, especially during the last three years, we have played a mean and sordid part among the nations, and have been faithless to our obligations and to all the old-time ideals of American patriotism. Women, as much as men, must put righteousness and justice before peace. We must prepare at once in amplest fashion to defend ourselves against outside aggression from any source, and the women must do their part just as much

as the men. Then, in addition to striving for material well-being and reasonable equality of opportunity for our own people, in addition to making ready to defend our own rights with our own strength, surely the heirs of Washington and Lincoln, the women just as much as the men, must, as regards the rest of the world, stand at any cost for justice and righteousness for and among the peoples and the nations of mankind.

Concrete examples usually teach more than abstract statements. The principles laid down in this chapter are illustrated in the following correspondence between a woman in a small town in Michigan and myself. Her letter to me ran:

February 3, 1916, —, Michigan.

DEAR SIR: When you were talking of "race suicide" I was rearing a large family on almost no income. I often thought of writing to you of some of my hardships and now when "preparedness" may take some of my boys I feel I *must*. I have eleven of my own and brought up three stepchildren, and yet in the thirty years of my married life I have never had a new cloak or winter hat. I have sent seven children to school at one time. I had a family of ten for eighteen years with no money to hire a washerwoman though bearing a child every two years. Nine—several through or nearly—of my children have got into high school and two into State Normal School and one into the University of Michigan. I haven't eaten a paid-for meal in twenty years or paid for a night's lodging in thirty. Not one of the five boys—the youngest is fifteen—uses tobacco or liquor. I have worn men's discarded shoes much of the time. I have had little time for reading.

I think I have *served* my country, my husband has been an invalid for six years—leaving me the care and much work on our little sandy farm. I have bothered you enough. To me *race suicide* has perhaps a different meaning when I think my boys may have to face the cannon.

Respectfully,

MRS. — — —.

I answered as follows:

February 9, 1916.

MY DEAR MRS. —: Your letter interests me very much. It interests me both because of what you tell me about yourself, and because of what may be the attitude of mind of other women and men, whom I heartily respect and admire, and who do not understand quite what it is that I am trying to say to our people.

You say that when I was talking of race suicide you were rearing a large family on almost no income; that you often thought of writing to me of some of your hardships; and that now, inasmuch as my "preparedness" policy may take some of your boys, you feel you must write to me. You state you have eleven children of your own and have brought up three stepchildren, and that yet, in the thirty years of your married life, you have "never had a new cloak or winter hat"; and that you had sent seven of the children to school at one time and had a family of ten for eighteen years, with no money to hire a washerwoman, although you were bearing a child every two years; and you say that, of your children, nine have gotten into high school and two into the State Normal School and one into the University of Michigan; that you "haven't eaten a paid-for meal in twenty years or paid for a night's lodging in thirty," and that you have had most of the time to wear men's discarded shoes and have had little time for reading; and you say that you feel that you have served your country. (And so you have.) You add that your husband has been an invalid for six years, so that you have had to do most of the work on your little sandy farm. You end by saying that race suicide has perhaps a different meaning to you now, when you think your boys "may have to face the cannon."

Now, my dear Mrs. —, you have described a career of service which makes me feel more like taking off my hat to you and saluting you as a citizen deserving of the highest honor than I would feel as regards any colonel of a crack regiment.

But you seem to think, if I understand your letter aright, that "preparedness" is in some way designed to make your boys food for cannon. Now, as a matter of fact, the surest way to prevent your boys from being food for cannon is to have them, and all the other young men of the country—my boys, for instance, and the boys of all other fathers and mothers throughout the country—so trained, so prepared, that it will not be safe for any foreign foe to attack us. Preparedness no more invites war than fire insurance invites a fire. I shall come back to this matter again in a moment. But I will speak to you first a word as to what you say about race suicide. I have never preached the imposition of an excessive maternity on any woman. I have always said that every man worth calling such will feel a peculiar sense of chivalric tenderness toward his wife, the mother of his children. He must be unselfish and considerate with her. But, exactly as he must do his duty, so she must do her duty. I have said that it is self-evident that unless the average woman, capable of having children, has four, the race will not go forward; for this is necessary in order to offset the women who for proper reasons do not marry, or who, from no fault of their own, have no children, or only one or two, or whose children die before they grow up. I do not want to see us Americans forced to import our babies from abroad. I do not want to see the stock of people like yourself and like my family die out—and you do not either; and it will inevitably die out if the average man and the average woman are so selfish and so cold that they wish either no children, or just one or two children. We have had six children in this family. We wish we had more. Now the grandchildren are coming along; and I am sure you agree with me that no other success in life, not being President, or being wealthy, or going to college, or anything else, comes up to the success of the man and woman who can feel that they have done their duty and that their children and grandchildren rise up to call them blessed.

You have had to work very hard, but, Mrs. —, I am

sure you are the type of woman who takes pride in what you have accomplished. Surely, you feel you are entitled to respect, not sympathy or pity. Certainly this is the way *I* feel about you. I feel that you are the kind of American of whom all good Americans should be proud. I think that what you have done puts you in the first rank of those men and women of this generation who have served their country.

Now, for what you say about preparedness. I am enclosing you a slip of paper containing an account of the destruction that has been wrought in Belgium by the German Army. Over eighteen thousand houses have been destroyed. You will see that in one town one hundred and twenty-seven out of one hundred and thirty houses were burned to the ground, and in another one thousand two hundred and sixty-three out of one thousand three hundred and seventy-five. A population twice the size of that of Michigan is now living under conditions where, if the women of a family are maltreated, the father and sons dare not stand up for them against any soldier of the invading army, because they would be shot if they did so. In some towns, the officers treat the women and children well. In other towns they permit frightful misconduct toward them. Would you wish your sons to see you and their sisters frightfully maltreated and be afraid in any way even to show resentment against the brutal men guilty of the misconduct? This is exactly what has happened to the population of Belgium—seven million souls—because they had not prepared their strength in advance. Belgium gave no cause of offense to any nation. She was much freer from giving offense than the United States has been. She had not committed a wrong of any kind or sort; but she was rich; she was badly prepared; only a small proportion of her people had been trained to war; and so she was invaded. For eighteen months her people have been living in misery such as you and I can hardly picture to ourselves. The shame, the humiliation and suffering have been well-nigh intolerable. Many hundreds of Belgian women and children, many thousands of men, have been killed. Mul-

titudes of innocent non-combatants have been killed, or their houses burned, and their little all taken from them. Many hundreds of thousands are in the direst want. All are suffering greatly. And this is because her allies (and indeed Belgium herself) were not prepared, as Germany was, and because a big, powerful neutral nation like the United States did not dare to stand up for them.

Mrs. Roosevelt and I have four sons and they are as dear to us as your sons are to you. If we now had war, these four boys would all go. We think it entirely right that they should go if their country needs them. But I do not think it fair that they should be sent to defend the boys who are too soft or too timid "to face the cannon," or the other boys who wish to stay at home to make money while somebody else protects them. If throughout this country all young men like your sons and like mine are trained so that they can defend this country in time of trouble, I do not believe that the trouble will ever come. Preparedness will probably prevent these boys from having "to face the cannon"; but if other nations become convinced that the mothers of this country have raised their boys to be *afraid* to face the cannon, then you can be absolutely certain that, sooner or later, these other nations will come over and treat us just as the military powers of the Old World have treated the Chinese. The Chinese were "too proud to fight"; and so they have been kicked. Those of our people who are "too proud to fight" ought to wear pig-tails.

You say you have had little time for reading; but your letter interests me so that I am sending you a copy of my autobiography. You won't care to read it all; but I wish you would read about our family life and about what I say of war and of social justice. I think, on the whole, you will agree with what is therein said.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

BIRTH REFORM, FROM THE POSITIVE, NOT THE NEGATIVE, SIDE

REFORMS are excellent, but if there is nobody to reform their value becomes somewhat problematical. In order to make a man into a better citizen we must first have the man. In order that there shall be a "fuller and better expressed life for the average woman," that average woman must be in actual existence. And the first necessity in "bringing up the child aright" is to produce the child.

Stated in the abstract, these propositions are of bromidic triteness. But an astonishingly large number of persons, including a lamentably large number who call themselves social reformers, either are, or act as if they were, utterly blind to them when they try to deal with life in the concrete. This is true of every group of persons who treat Bernard Shaw seriously as a social reformer. It is true of every group of reformers who discuss the home and the school, but regard it as indelicate to lay stress on the fact that neither is worth discussing unless there are children in sufficient numbers to make the home and the school worth perpetuating. It is true of all blatant sham reformers who, in the name of a new morality, preach the old, old vice and self-indulgence which rotted out first the moral fibre and then even the external greatness of Greece and Rome. It is true of the possibly well-meaning but certainly silly persons who fail to see that we merely enunciate a perfectly plain mathematical truth when we say that the race will die out unless the average family contains at least three children, and therefore that less than this number always means that, whether because of their fault or their misfortune, the

parents are bearing less than their share of the common burdens, and are rendering less than their due proportion of patriotic service to the nation.

There has recently been published a "Study of the Birth-rate in Harvard and Yale Graduates," by John C. Phillips, of Boston. It should be circulated as a tract among all those most foolish of all foolish people, the half-baked educated people who advocate a profoundly immoral attitude toward life in the name of "reform" through "birth control." These people see that in the "submerged tenth" of society, and even among all the very poor, excessive child-bearing is a grave evil which crushes the woman, turning her into a broken-spirited, overworked, slatternly drudge; and which therefore crushes the family also, making it difficult for the children, on the average, to rise above a very low level. They do not see that it is the directly reverse danger against which we have to guard as soon as we rise above the class of the very poor, of those whose livelihood is so precarious that they are always on the brink of the gulf of disaster. As soon as we get above this lowest class the real danger in American families, whether of mechanics, farmers, railroad workers, railroad presidents, deep-sea fishermen, bankers, teachers, or lawyers, is not lest they have too many children, but lest they have too few. Yet it is precisely these people who are really influenced by the "birth-control" propaganda. What this nation vitally needs is not the negative preaching of birth control to the submerged tenth, and the tenth immediately adjoining, but the positive preaching of birth encouragement to the eight-tenths who make up the capable, self-respecting American stock which we wish to see perpetuate itself.

Mr. Phillips studies the birth-rate for the two colleges in question by decades from 1850 to 1890. The figures for both colleges are substantially similar, Yale making a trifle better showing. They prove conclusively that for over fifty years the men who have been graduated from Harvard and Yale have left behind them a number of sons inferior to their own

number—that is, to the number of fathers—and that, therefore, this college stock, which in point of worthy achievement is certainly among the thoroughly good stocks of the country, is tending to die out; and they show that this tendency has hitherto been slightly accentuated with each decade.

For the decade ending in 1870, for example, the showing was a trifle better than in 1880; and in 1890 there was a further, although a slighter, drop. Eighteen-ninety was taken as the last year, because the number of children born to graduates after they have been graduated for a quarter of a century is too few materially to affect the averages.

On the average, during the thirty years, the graduate who married did so after he had left college eight years. About seventy-eight per cent married, roughly four-fifths. But over twenty per cent of the marriages were childless. This leaves only three-fifths of the men of the class who contracted fertile marriages, and who, therefore, if their stock were to progress, had to make good the shortcomings of their fellows. The average number of children per capita per married graduate was about 2.3, and shrank decade by decade. Taking the entire number of graduates, the average number of children surviving was 1.55 per capita (of whom, of course, on the average half are daughters). This means, roughly, that in these thirty classes of Harvard and Yale graduates, representing, of course, a high average of the energy, ambition, and cultivation, and a reasonably high average of the wealth, of the land, every four fathers left behind them three sons. If this ratio continues it will mean that one hundred and forty years hence—a period as long as that which divides us from the Declaration of Independence—the average college graduates of to-day will be represented in their descendants by only three-tenths of their present number.

This would be bad enough if the disease were confined to college graduates. But, as Mr. Phillips shows in the brief summaries at the end of his article, it is merely representative of what is taking place among native-born Americans generally.

The most pitiable showing is made by the graduates of the women's colleges. So far, among the older classes of the older among these colleges, the average girl is represented in the next generation by only 0.86 of a child. This means that for every five possible mothers there were two daughters. Do these colleges teach "domestic science," and if so, *what* is it that they teach? There is something radically wrong with the home-training and the school-training that produce such results. To say this, is not in the least to join with the ignorant and foolish man who denounces higher education for woman; he is usually himself a striking illustration of the need of wiser education for men. But it most certainly is a recognition of the fact, not that there should be any abandonment of, nor indeed any failure to enlarge, the scheme of higher education for women, but that for women as for men this higher education should keep a firm grip on the true perspective of life, and should refuse to sacrifice the great essentials of existence to even the easiest and pleasantest non-essentials.

The trouble in our national life, however, is far more deep-seated than anything affecting only the most highly educated classes. The same drift is visible among our people generally; most so in the East, and in the cities and big towns of the West. In Massachusetts, for the twenty-five years ending in 1911, the deaths among the native-born population exceeded the births by two hundred and seventy thousand, whereas during the same period the births in families with foreign-born parents exceeded the deaths by nearly five hundred and thirty thousand. If this process continues the work of perfecting the boasted common-school and college system for Massachusetts native Americans will prove about as useful as the labor of those worthy missionaries who on different occasions have translated the Bible into the tongues of savage races who thereupon died out.

In the West the native stock—and I use the term with elasticity to include all children of mothers and fathers who were born on this side of the water—is only just about holding

its own. It is a little less than holding its own in the cities, a little more than doing so in the country districts. In the cities of Minneapolis and Cleveland, for example, such families average less than three children. In the country districts of Minnesota and Ohio they average about one child more a family, which in this case marks just the difference between increase and decrease. In the South the native white stock is still increasing, although with diminishing rapidity.

The figures given for the Harvard and Yale graduates show that, taking into account the number of children that die before growing up, the number of adults that do not marry, and the number of marriages where for physical and natural reasons—that is, reasons presumably implying no moral blame in the parents—there are no children or only one or two children, it is necessary that the family physically able to produce children shall average over three or the race will slowly decrease in numbers. When the health conditions become such that child mortality is reduced still lower than at present, and when marriages become more universal and the having and rearing of a sufficient number of children is recognized for both man and woman as the highest duty and the greatest and most extraordinary pleasure of life, then an average family of three children may mean a slow increase. Under any circumstances an average of one or two children means rapid race suicide, and therefore profound moral delinquency in those wilfully responsible for it. But this is not all! At present whoever has only three children must be understood to represent a slight drag on the forward movement of the nation, a slight falling below the average necessary standard in the performance of the indispensable duty without which there will in the end be no nation; the duty, failure to perform which means that all talk of eugenics and social reform and moral uplift and self-development represents mere empty threshing of the air, as pointless as similar talk by a suicide.

What I have said does not represent preaching. It merely represents the application of certain mathematical truths to

life. It is no more debatable than the statement that less than two and two cannot make four. Apparently some persons regard it as a satisfactory answer to point out that some worthless or hopelessly poverty-stricken family would benefit themselves and the country by having fewer children. I heartily agree to this, and will support any measures to make this agreement effective by limiting the production of the unfit, after we have first taken effective measures to promote the production of the fit. Doubtless there are communities which it would be to the interest of the world to have die out. But these are not the communities reached by the "birth-control" propagandists—even by that rather small proportion of these propagandists who are neither decadent nor immoral. I hold that the average American is a decent, self-respecting man, with large capacities for good service to himself, his country, and the world if a right appeal can be made to him and the right response evoked. Therefore, I hold that it is not best that he and his kind should perish from the earth. The great problem of civilization is to secure a relative increase of the valuable as compared with the less valuable or noxious elements in the population. This problem cannot be met unless we give full consideration to the immense influence of heredity. There is far less danger of our forgetting the also very great influence of environment, which includes education. Except in a small number of cases, the state can exercise little active control against the perpetuation of the unfit. Therefore, the real and great service must be rendered by those who help put an aroused and effective public opinion on the side of the perpetuation of the stocks from which it is particularly important that the future citizenship of the nation should be drawn.

Really intelligent eugenists understand and insist on these facts. *The Journal of Heredity* for July, 1917, contains one article showing the evil which has come from permitting the unrestricted breeding of a feeble-minded, utterly shiftless, and worthless family in Ohio; and another, and even more

important article showing that the idea that, in a normal and healthy community, large families are an evil is false and dangerous in the highest degree. The writer says: "Large families in the slums may be considered undesirable; unregulated [excessive] child-bearing for any woman may be considered undesirable; but this [is untrue as to] large families separated from the influence of poverty. It is doubtless true that in the Hull House district, where many children have feeble and unintelligent parents and lack the necessities of life, a large family means weakness. But the reverse is true in normally sound stocks, in sections of population which have average intelligence, physique, and prosperity." The writer shows that in such normal stocks the health of the mother is best, and the infant mortality lowest, in families with at least six children. The writer shows that in superior parts of the population large families are desirable from the point of view of the parents, the children, and the world, alike; but that "in eugenically inferior parts of the population the smaller the family the better for all concerned." He shows that the birth-control extremists are dealing with pathological conditions—and indeed themselves represent a pathological condition.

At different times in different nations the needs and the duties differ widely. Professor Ross has shown that China has suffered immeasurably because of the reckless overbreeding of its people. France is now in hazard of her national existence because of exactly the opposite cause. A century ago France was as populous as Germany. Her soil is fertile, her natural advantages great. But France's population remained nearly stationary while Germany's population increased, until the two countries stand nearly as five to three. The increase in Germany's population was accompanied by such industrial and social development (having no relation whatever to such mere swarming of poverty-stricken incompetents as China and, formerly, southern Italy have seen) as also to mean a marked increase in social and national efficiency. In consequence, all of France's heroic gallantry and self-devotion and her utmost

self-sacrifice have been needed in order to enable her, with the help of potent allies, even to hold back a foe whom once she was able to meet single-handed. The United States need not follow the example of China in order to avoid the French shortcomings, and it can still avoid these shortcomings while profiting by the magnificent French example in other ways.

In instancing France I merely take what the best and most patriotic Frenchmen say. The French Academy in its *Proceedings* has throughout this war been carrying a series of studies on the dwindling birth-rate in France, and has shown that on the average the mother capable of having children must have over three or the race will slowly diminish; of course only one or two children means closely impending race suicide. As M. Hervé has recently said, the man who leaves behind him no children, or the father of only one son, must hereafter realize that he is not a patriot; that he is not doing his duty by his country. (I speak, of course, of the average, not the exception.) A French newspaper before me says: "In 1850 the population of France surpassed that of Germany. When this war broke out it had become inferior by twenty-seven millions. It was this fact to which the war was really due. If the Germans had had before them sixty millions of French instead of thirty-nine they would have hesitated long. The cause of the war was that we had not furnished to France enough children. . . . If the French birth-rate continues to diminish we shall some day face a new war of conquest waged against us. It is a question of life or death which confronts France. She must live! But in order to live she must face the implacable realities of existence. The national conscience should insist that our legislators put the matter of the repopulation of France in the first place." The lesson applies as much to the United States. If our birth-rate continues to diminish we shall by the end of this century be impotent in the face of powers like Germany, Russia, or Japan; we shall have been passed by the great states of South America.

We are dealing with rules, not with exceptions. We are discussing the birth-rate in any given community, just as we discuss the ability of a community in time of war to provide soldiers for the nation's safety. In any small group of men it may happen that, for good and sufficient reasons, it is impossible for any of the members to go to war: two or three may be physically unfit, two or three may be too old or too young, and the remaining two or three may be performing civil duties of such vital consequence to the commonwealth that it would be wrong to send them to the front. In such case no blame attaches to any individual, and high praise may attach to all. But if in a group of a thousand men more than a small minority are unwilling and unfit to go to war in the hour of the nation's need, then there is something radically wrong with them, spiritually or physically, and they stand in need of drastic treatment. So it is as regards marriage and children. In a small group there may be good and sufficient explanations why the individual men and women have remained unmarried; and the fact that those that marry have no children, or only one or two children, may be cause only for sincere and respectful sympathy. But if, in a community of a thousand men and a thousand women, a large proportion of them remain unmarried, and if of the marriages so many are sterile, or with only one or two children, that the population is decreasing, then there is something radically wrong with the people of that community as a whole. The trouble may be partly physical, partly due to the strange troubles which accompany an overstrained intensity of life. But even in this case the root trouble is probably moral; and in all probability the whole trouble is moral, and is due to a complex tissue of causation in which coldness, love of ease, striving after social position, fear of pain, dislike of hard work, and sheer inability to get life values in their proper perspective all play a part.

The fundamental instincts are not only the basic but also the loftiest instincts in human nature. The qualities that make

men and women eager lovers, faithful, duty-performing, hard-working husbands and wives, and wise and devoted fathers and mothers stand at the foundations of all possible social welfare, and also represent the loftiest heights of human happiness and usefulness. No other form of personal success and happiness or of individual service to the state compares with that which is represented by the love of the one man for the one woman, of their joint work as home-maker and home-keeper, and of their ability to bring up the children that are theirs.

Among human beings, as among all other living creatures, if the best specimens do not, and the poorer specimens do, propagate, the type will go down. If Americans of the old stock lead lives of celibate selfishness (whether profligate or merely frivolous or objectless, matters little), or if the married are afflicted by that base fear of living which, whether for the sake of themselves or of their children, forbids them to have more than one or two children, disaster awaits the nation. It is not well for a nation to import its art and its literature; but it is fatal for a nation to import its babies. And it is utterly futile to make believe that fussy activity for somebody else's babies atones for failure of personal parenthood. I shall never forget witnessing a reception given by the governor of a big State to a "Mothers' Meeting." The governor enthusiastically advised his audience to remember that it was their duty to have a sufficient number of healthy children so that the race should go forward and not backward; and then discovered that the "mothers" were such only in a highly figurative sense, the large majority being spinster school-teachers and many of the remainder zealous maiden ladies at the head of philanthropic associations. They were there to tell some one else how to do the vital work! Now, it was quite proper for them to be there, but they should have been there as distinctly subordinate to the mothers themselves.

The remedy? There are many remedies, all of them partial. The state can do something, as the state is now doing

in France. Legislation must be for the average, for the common good. Therefore legislation should at once abandon the noxious sentimentality of thinking that in America at this time the "only son" is entitled to preferential consideration, either for the sake of himself or of his mother. The preference, as regards all obligations to the state, should be given to the family having the third and fourth children. In all public offices in every grade the lowest salaries should be paid the man or woman with no children, or only one or two children, and a marked discrimination made in favor of the man or woman with a family of *over* three children. In taxation, the rate should be immensely heavier on the childless and on the families with one or two children, while an equally heavy discrimination should lie in favor of the family with *over* three children. This should apply to the income tax and inheritance tax, and as far as possible to other taxes. I speak, as usual, of the average, not the exception. Only the father and mother of over three children have done their full duty by the state; and the state should emphasize this fact. No reduction should be made in a man's taxes merely because he is married. But he should be exempted on an additional five hundred dollars of income for each of his first two children, and on an additional one thousand dollars of income for every subsequent child—for we wish to put especial emphasis on the vital need of having the third and the fourth and the fifth children. The men and women with small or reasonable incomes are the ones who should be encouraged to have children; they do not represent a class which will be tempted by such exemption to thriftlessness or extravagances. I do not believe that there should be any income exemption whatever for the unmarried man or the childless married couple; let all the exemptions be for the married couples of moderate means who have children.

An aroused and enlightened public opinion can do infinitely more. There must be a sterner sense of duty and a clearer vision of the perspectives among which duty must work. That

standard of living is poor, whether for mechanic or bank president, which is based on ease, comfort, luxury, and social ambition rather than on education, culture, and wide ability to shift for oneself. The oldest duty of all is that owed by the fathers and mothers of Americans to care for the future of their country and the ideals of their race. The man and the woman must be partners in love, in mutual forbearance, in gallant facing of the future, in wise choice of duty among conflicting considerations. I would be the first to admit that no universal rule can be laid down, applicable to all people under all conditions. But let our people study, not only books on sociology, but also stories like Kathleen Norris's "Mother," Cornelia Comer's "Preliminaries," and Dorothy Canfield's "Hillsboro People." These books are wholesome reading for man and for woman—and they have the additional merit of being interesting.

The serious student can turn to one of the best books recently written by an American scientific man: "Heredity and Environment," by Professor Edwin C. Conklin, of Princeton. Let him look at pages 434-435, 450-455, and 498-507. I wish these pages could be circulated as a teacher's leaflet in all our schools and universities, in all the editorial rooms of our magazines and newspapers—especially in those whose editors pose as reformers and advocate every form of quack remedy from pacifism to birth control. Says Mr. Conklin (I condense): "The cause for alarm is the declining birth-rate in the best elements of a population, while it continues to increase among the poorer elements. The descendants of the Puritans and the Cavaliers, who have raised the cry for 'fewer and better children,' are already disappearing, and in a few centuries, at most, will have given place to more fertile races of mankind . . . if we had fewer luxuries we could have, and could afford to have, more children. . . . No eugenical reform can fail to take account of the fact that the decreasing birth-rate among intelligent people is a constant menace to the race. We need not 'fewer and better children,' but more children

of the better sort and fewer of the worse variety. There is great enthusiasm to-day on the part of many childless reformers for negative eugenical measures. [They forget that] sterility is too easily acquired; what is not so easily brought about is the fertility of the better lines. . . . What Bernard Shaw regards as the greatest discovery of the nineteenth century, viz., artificially limiting the size of families, may prove to be the greatest menace to the human race. . . . The chief motive for limiting the size of families is personal comfort and pleasure rather than the welfare of the race. It is more important for the welfare of the race that children with good inheritance [in mind, body, and will] should be brought into the world than that parents should live easy lives and have no more children than they can conveniently rear amid all the comforts of a luxury-loving age. . . . Race preservation, not self-preservation, is the first law of nature. Among the higher organisms, the strongest of all the instincts are those connected with reproduction. The struggle to be free is part of a great evolutionary movement, but the freedom must be a sane one, which neither injures others nor eliminates posterity. [Any movement which] demands freedom from marriage and reproduction is suicidal. In every age and country where men, and especially women, have demanded freedom from the burdens of bearing and rearing children, as well as from other natural social obligations, the end has been degeneration and extinction . . . if we continue to put individual freedom, and luxury, and selfishness above social obligations, our race and civilization will also see the writing on the wall: Thou art weighed in the balance and art found wanting."

In any discussion such as this, where it is necessary to deal in sweeping manner with great truths, the statements made must be accepted as referring to the general and the average conditions. It is not possible at every point to qualify them so as to allow for exceptions. In this case it is, in my judgment, vital to establish the principles above laid down as gen-

erally applicable, and to insist that no country is healthy, indeed that any country is sick nigh to death, where these principles are not in general lived up to. But, of course, there are exceptions. There are a few—a very few—good men and women who, when unmarried, can do such admirable work that the question of marriage is negligible so far as they are concerned. There are men and women who remain unmarried for good and sufficient reasons, even although they never do great work in the outside world. The imposition on any woman of excessive child-bearing is a brutal wrong; and of all human beings a husband should be most considerate of his wife. Then, among married couples who are childless or have only one or two children, there are plenty to whom this is a dreadful grief and who are morally in no way to blame. For these men and women I have the same respectful sympathy that I have for a gallant man, of soldier stock, who, because of physical trouble for which he is in no way responsible, is denied the chance to serve his country under arms when that country's need is sore. There is no more fearless and danger-defying heroism than that shown by some women of the true heroic type, in walking through the valley of the shadow to bring into life the babies they love; and there is no punishment too heavy for the man who does not revere and serve such a woman as he reveres and serves nothing else that is human. And it may be his highest duty, if the danger is too great, to see that she does not face it. I know one girl who has just for the second time eagerly faced motherhood; and to bring the second baby to join her first she had to show a splendid courage which (and I speak accurately) ranges her beside any of the men who in their ragged blue and buff and their gaping shoes followed Washington, or any gaunt Confederate who charged with Pickett, or any of the sailormen who held the sinking launch steady while Cushing torpedoed the *Albemarle*; which ranges her beside her husband and brothers who have crossed the sea to face the German and Turkish armies.

It would be wicked, without due thought, to expose woman or man, girl or young man, to the possible stroke of fate; but we revere them all alike, precisely because they face the stroke of fate, high-hearted, if the need warrants it. They only who are not afraid to die are fit to live!

MURDER IS NOT DEBATABLE

ON July 6th, at the reception in New York to the envoys of the Russian Republic, I made a speech of welcome. In the course of it I spoke in severe condemnation of the recent riots in East St. Louis, where a white mob had murdered and maimed, or otherwise maltreated, hundreds of negroes and had burned or otherwise destroyed their property. Mr. Gompers, the head of the Federation of Labor, in his following speech, spoke in extenuation of what had been done, so far as the white working men were concerned. As soon as he was through I spoke briefly again, my remarks being in part as follows:

"I demand that the government representatives put down violence with ruthless resolution, whether it be of white against black or black against white. Before we can help others in drawing the beam from their eyes let us draw out the beam that is in our own eyes. The most dangerous form of sentimental debauch is to give expression to good wishes in behalf of virtue somewhere else when you do not dare to enforce decency in your own province.

"Justice is not merely words. It is to be translated into living acts, and how can we praise the people of Russia if we by explanation, silence, or evasion apologize for murdering the helpless. In the past I have listened to the same form of excuse from the Russian autocracy for the pogroms inflicted on the Jews. Shall we by silence acquiesce in this amazing apology for the murder of men, women, and children in our own country?

"Never will I sit motionless while directly or indirectly apology is made for murder of the helpless."

Mr. Gompers in his speech had alluded to a telegram from the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Subsequently, the secretary of this body sent me a letter which I answered, as follows:

July 17, 1917.

MY DEAR SIR:¹

I thank you for your courteous letter enclosing the report of the Committee on Labor of the Illinois State Council of Defense, concerning the race riots at East St. Louis. They had nothing to do with any commission or alleged commission of rape or any other crime. Aside from race antipathy, the report seems to show that the riots were due to economic conditions. I was not informed, in any way, as to these economic conditions which it is alleged led up to the riot, until after Mr. Gompers's speech on July 6th. When on that evening I made my first remarks on the riot I supposed the underlying cause to be racial, and in my remarks I made no allusion whatever to organized labor, or indeed to labor at all, in connection with the riots. It was Mr. Gompers's speech which first gave me clearly to understand that the fundamental cause was alleged to be economic, and that organized labor regarded itself as especially concerned with the riots. Then my attention was called to the newspapers of July 4th, which carried an alleged statement by Mr. Michael Whalen, President of the Central Trades and Labor Councils of East St. Louis. If this statement is correctly reported, Mr. Whalen said: "The chief objection to the negroes is that they would not unionize, and would not strike." I hold, with the utmost intensity of conviction, that it is absolutely impossible for us to succeed along the lines of an orderly democracy, a democracy which shall be industrial as well as political, unless we treat the repression of crime, including crimes of violence, and

¹The letter was addressed to Victor A. Olander, Secretary-Treasurer, Illinois State Federation of Labor, Chicago, Ill.

the insistence on justice obtained through the enforcement of law, as prime necessities. I, of course, refuse, under any conditions, to accept the fact that certain persons decline "to unionize and strike" as warranting their murder, or as warranting any kind of violence against them. But I go much further than this. I will aid in every way in my power to secure, by governmental as well as private action, the remedying of all the wrongs of labor, and in so acting I shall pay no heed to any capitalistic opposition. But I refuse to treat any industrial condition as warranting riot and murder; and I condemn all persons, whether representatives of organized labor or not, who attempt to palliate or excuse such crimes, or who fail to condemn them in clear-cut and unequivocal fashion. I heartily believe in organized labor, just as, and even more than, I believe in organized capital; I am very proud of being an honorary member of one labor organization; but I will no more condone crime or violence by a labor organization or by working men than I will condone crime or wrong-doing by a corporation or by capitalists. A square deal for every man! That is the only safe motto for the United States.

This is a democracy, a government by the people, and the people have supreme power if they choose to exercise it. The people can get justice peaceably, if they really desire it; and if they do not desire it enough to show the wisdom, patience, and cool-headed determination necessary in order to get it peaceably, through the orderly process of law, then they haven't the slightest excuse for trying to get it by riot and murder. All the governmental authorities concerned in the East St. Louis situation should have taken notice of that situation in advance and should take notice of it now. The National Government, and all local governmental authorities in places where such a situation is likely to arise, should take notice now, and act now. Nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time. If there has been improper solicitation of negroes to come to East St. Louis, or improper housing and working conditions among them after they have come, or an improperly low

wage-scale, or if anything else improper has been done by the capitalists and employers, so that injustice has been done the working men, then it was the bounden duty, and is now the bounden duty, of the government authorities to remedy the wrong and see justice done the working men. But the first consideration is to stop, and to punish, lawless and murderous violence. Lawless violence inevitably breeds lawless violence in return, and the first duty of the government is relentlessly to put a stop to the violence and then to deal firmly and wisely with all the conditions that led up to the violence. If black men are lawlessly and brutally murdered, in the end the effect is to produce lawlessness among brutal blacks. Recently the I. W. W. has been guilty of all kinds of misconduct, and has been acting as in effect a potent ally of Germany, with whom we are now at war; and finally their lawlessness produced an explosion of counter-lawlessness. Of course the government should repress both kinds of lawlessness. It should prevent all lawless excesses against the I. W. W. and it should also act on the theory that these excesses are fundamentally due to the previous failure of the government to deal in drastic fashion and with all necessary severity with the turbulent, lawless, murderous, and treasonable practices which have been so common among the I. W. W. and kindred organizations. And then it should deal in thoroughgoing fashion with the social and industrial conditions which have produced such results. We Americans must hold the scales even.

A few years ago certain negro troops shot up a Texas town, and the other members of their companies shielded them from punishment. The government proceeded to the limit of its power against them all, and dismissed them from the army; not because they were black men who had committed a crime against white men, but because they had acted criminally; and justice should be invoked against wrong-doers without regard to the color of their skins, just as it should be invoked against wrong-doers without regard as to whether they are rich or poor, whether they are employers or employees, whether they

are capitalists and heads of corporations who commit crimes of cunning and arrogance and greed, or wage workers and members of labor organizations who commit crimes of violence and envy and greed.

I have just received an abusive letter from an organization styling itself "The Industrial Council of Kansas City," and claiming to be affiliated with the Federation of Labor, which states that I accused organized labor of being responsible for the outrages at East St. Louis. I made no such accusation until the fact that there was at least a measure of truth in the accusation had been in effect set forth in the speech by the special representative of organized labor at the meeting at which I spoke and by the telegram quoted in that speech. Whenever I have the power, I will protect the white man against the black wrong-doer, and the black man against the white wrong-doer; I will as far as I have power secure justice for the laboring man who is wronged by the man of property, and for every man, whether he has property or not, if he is menaced by lawless violence; and when I haven't the power, I will at least raise my voice in protest, if there is the least chance of that protest doing good.

We are at this moment at war with a most formidable and ruthless enemy. We are fighting for our own dearest rights; we are also fighting for the rights of all self-respecting and civilized nations to liberty and self-government. We have demanded that the negro submit to the draft and do his share of the fighting exactly as the white man does. Surely, when such is the case we should give him the same protection, by the law, that we give to the white man. All of us who are fit to fight are to serve as soldiers, shoulder to shoulder, whether we are farmers or townsfolk, whether we are working men or professional men, men who employ others or men who are employed by others. We fight for the same country, we are loyal to the same flag, we are all alike eager to pay with our bodies in order to serve the high ideals which those who founded and preserved this nation believed it our mission to

uphold throughout the world. Surely, in such case it is our duty to treat all our fellow countrymen, rich or poor, black or white, with justice and mercy, and, so far as may be, in a spirit of brotherly kindness.

The victims of the mob in East St. Louis were very humble people. They were slain, and their little belongings destroyed. In speaking of the draft riots in New York during the Civil War, Lincoln, addressing a working men's association, singled out as the saddest feature of the riots the killing "of some working people by other working people." We have recently entered into a war, primarily it is true to secure our own national honor and vital interest, but also with the hope of bringing a little nearer to all the world the day when everywhere the humble and the mighty shall respect one another's rights and dwell together in the peace of justice. Surely, when we thus go to war against tyranny and brutality and oppression, our own hands must be clean of innocent blood. We hope to advance throughout the world the peace of righteousness and brotherhood; surely we can best do so when we insist upon this peace of righteousness and brotherhood within our own borders.

In securing such a peace the first essential is to guarantee to every man the most elementary of rights, the right to his own life. Murder is not debatable.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE "CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR"

WE have heard much of the conscientious objectors to military service, the outcry having been loudest among those objectors who are not conscientious at all but who are the paid or unpaid agents of the German Government.

It is certain that only a small fraction of the men who call themselves conscientious objectors in this matter are actuated in any way by conscience. The bulk are slackers, pure and simple, or else traitorous pro-Germans. Some are actuated by lazy desire to avoid any duty that interferes with their ease and enjoyment, some by the evil desire to damage the United States and help Germany, some by sheer, simple, physical timidity. In the aggregate, the men of this type constitute the great majority of the men who claim to be conscientious objectors, and this fact must be remembered in endeavoring to deal with the class.

In some of our big cities, since the war began, men have formed vegetarian societies, claiming to be exempt from service on the ground that they object to killing not merely men, but chickens. Others among the leading apostles of applied pacifism are not timid men; on the contrary they are brutal, violent men, who are perfectly willing to fight, but only for themselves and not for the nation. These rough-neck pacifists have always been the potent allies of the parlor or milk-and-water pacifists; although they stand at the opposite end of the developmental scale. The parlor pacifist, the white-handed or sissy type of pacifist, represents decadence, represents the rotting out of the virile virtues among people who typify the unlovely senile side of civilization. The rough-neck pacifist, on

the contrary, is a mere belated savage, who has not been educated to the virtues of national patriotism and of willingness to fight for the national flag and the national ideal. The savage is a turbulent person anxious to brawl and to fight for his personal advantage, but too short-sighted and selfish to be willing to fight for the common good. So in the New York draft riots during the Civil War, the disturbance was at the outset fostered by the parlor pacifists who were shrieking for peace at any price and for the immediate stopping of the war; but it speedily passed under the management of the rough-neck pacifist mob who killed hundreds of innocent people; they were perfectly willing to risk life and to take it to gratify their private passions; all that they objected to was risking their lives for the well-being and preservation of the nation.

There remains the pacifist, the conscientious objector, who really does conscientiously object to war and who is sincere about it. As regards these men we must discriminate sharply between the men deeply opposed to war so long as it is possible honorably to avoid it, who are ardent lovers of peace, but who put righteousness above peace; and the other men who, however sincerely, put peace above righteousness, and thereby serve the devil against the Lord.

The first attitude is that of great numbers of the Society of Friends who in this war behave as so very many of the Friends did in the Civil War; as that great English Quaker statesman, John Bright, lover of freedom and righteousness, behaved in the Civil War. I wish all good American peace-lovers would read the recent address delivered by Professor Albert C. Thatcher, of Swarthmore, and signed by some scores of the Society of Friends. He shows that in the Civil War it is probable that their branch of the Society of Friends furnished more soldiers in proportion to their numbers than any other denomination. Liberty was part of their religion. They not only fought, but they insisted that the war should go on, at whatever cost, until it was crowned by complete victory. John Bright said, in speaking of the pacifists who in the time

of the Civil War wanted peace without victory: "I want no end of the war, and no compromise, and no reunion, till the negro is made free beyond all chance of failure." He was for peace, but he was not for peace at the price of slavery. In the same way now, the best and most high-minded Friends, and lovers of peace in this country, are for peace, but only as the result of the complete overthrow of the barbarous Prussian militarism which now is Germany, and the existence of which is a perpetual menace to our own country and to all mankind. The Friends and peace-lovers of this type are among the very best citizens of this country. They abhor war; but there are things they abhor even more. Every good citizen will support them in their opposition to wanton or unjust war, to any war entered into save from the sternest sense of duty.

The peace people of the directly opposite type include the men who conscientiously object to all participation in any war however brutal the opponents, and however vital triumph may be to us and to mankind. These persons are entitled to precisely the respect we give any other persons whose conscience makes them do what is bad. We have had in this country some conscientious polygamists. We now have some conscientious objectors to taking part in this war. Where both are equally conscientious, the former are, on the whole, not as bad citizens as the latter. Of course, if these conscientious objectors are sincere they decline in private life to oppose violence or brutality or to take advantage of the courage and strength of those who do oppose violence and brutality. If these men are sincere they will refuse to interfere (for moral suasion is not interference) with a white-slaver who runs off with one of their daughters or a blackhander who kidnaps and tortures a little child or a ruffian who slaps the wife or mother of one of them in the face. They are utterly insincere unless they decline to take advantage of police protection from burglary or highway robbery. Of course, if such a man is really conscientious he cannot profit or allow his family to profit in any way by the safety secured to him and them by others, by sol-

diers in time of war, by judges and policemen in time of peace; for the receiver is as bad as the thief. I hold that such an attitude is infamous; and it is just as infamous to refuse to serve the country in arms during this war. If a man's conscience bids him so to act, then his conscience is a fit subject for the student of morbid pathology.

If a man does not wish to take life, but does wish to serve his country, let him serve on board a mine-sweeper or in some other position where the danger is to his own life and not to the life of any one else. But if he will take no useful and efficient part in helping in this war, in running his share of the common risk, and doing his part of the common duty, then treat him as having forfeited his right to vote. He has no right to help render at the polls any decision which in the long run can only be made good in the face of brutal and hostile men by the ability and willingness of good citizens to back right with might.

The case has been admirably put by the Methodist bishop, R. J. Cooke, of Helena, Mont. He points out that the vast majority of these conscientious objectors do not object to receiving the benefits from the suffering, hardships, and deaths of other men; they only object to doing anything in return. Such a conscientious objector gives no service in return for the value he receives. He claims citizenship, but will not perform the duty of a citizen. Now, he has no moral right to take such a twofold position. "If any man will not work neither shall he eat." If his conscience forbids him to work, do not violate his conscience, but refuse to feed him at the expense of somebody with a healthy conscience which does not forbid work. Service to the nation in war stands precisely on a footing with any other service. If a man will not perform it, let him lose all the benefits of war; and therefore let him lose the political rights which a free country can keep only if its free citizens are willing to fight for them. Respect the conscientious objector's opinions, but let him abide by the full consequences of his opinions. Universal suffrage can be

justified only if it rests on universal service. We stand against all privilege not based on the full performance of duty; and there is no more contemptible form of privilege than the privilege of existing in smug, self-righteous, peaceful safety because other, braver, more self-sacrificing men give up safety and go to war to preserve the nation. If a man is too conscientious to fight, then the rest of us ought to be too conscientious to let him vote in a democratic land which can permanently exist only if the average man is willing in the last resort to fight for it, and die for it. A man has no right to the things that do not belong to him; and this country does not belong to the men who will not defend her. The man who will not defend the country has no business to vote in the country. Extreme Quakers take this position. They refuse to vote or pay taxes, in addition to refusing to fight. Such men are unwise, but consistent. But nothing can be said for the pacifist who wishes to vote, but refuses to fight.

Monsignor Cassidy, of St. Mary's Cathedral, Fall River, Mass., in an address to a body of Massachusetts troops who were about to leave for the war, said: "The future would be filled with shame and ignominy if we had been led by those who would have peace at any price; we should have been a soulless nation, and shame and reproach and everlasting infamy would have been the profit of our peace. But the nation did not sell its soul for peace! In the spirit of '76 we fight for peace, that justice may prevail, that frightfulness and inhumanity may not possess the earth."

There spoke a true American, fit interpreter of the soul of America!

NINE-TENTHS OF WISDOM IS BEING WISE IN TIME¹

IN the past there have been two great crises in our national life: that in which the infant nation was saved by the soldierly valor and single-minded statesmanship of Washington, and that in which, in its raw maturity, the nation was again saved by the men who followed Lincoln and Grant. In each case the victory was followed by over half a century of national unity, secured by the peace of victory; and during this peace, brought by the victory of righteousness, men forgot that all its benefits would be lost if it were turned into the peace of cowardice and slackness. The Revolution was a war for liberty; and that liberty became of permanent value only when, again under Washington's lead, it was made secure by the orderly strength of the Union. The liberty secured in the Civil War to the black man was thus secured only because the white man was willing to fight to the death for the Union, and for the flag to which we owe undivided allegiance.

The old thirteen States were born of the Revolution. Nebraska, like Kansas, was born of the Civil War. It was the struggle over the admission to statehood of Kansas and Nebraska which marked the real opening of the contest that culminated at Appomattox.

The contest settled three great principles:

1. That we were no longer to make words substitutes for facts, or accept fine phrases in lieu of great deeds; and that therefore we were to make our devotion to liberty a fact instead of a phrase by abolishing slavery.

2. That we were all hereafter to be Americans with an un-

¹ Speech at Lincoln, Neb., June 14, 1917.

divided allegiance to the flag of the Union; an allegiance even more incompatible with a loyalty divided between our flag and some foreign flag than with a loyalty divided between the whole country and some section of the country.

3. That we were definitely to realize that while peace was normally a good thing, yet that righteousness stood above peace, and that the only good citizens were those who were sternly ready to face war rather than submit to an unrighteous or cowardly peace.

All these principles are at stake at the present moment. All three have been threatened, and therefore the honor and the welfare and the usefulness and, indeed, the very life of the Republic have been threatened by the pacifist and pro-German agitation of the last three years.

Our national record during these three years is not one to which we can look back with pride; for during these three years we violated the three principles established by the Civil War.

1. For two years and a half we used fine phrases to cover ugly facts, when we unctuously protested our devotion to the liberties of small, well-behaved nations in the abstract, and yet, in the concrete, did not say one word of indignant protest when with ruthless brutality, and without one shadow of moral justification, Germany conquered and enslaved Belgium. We did not even dare to act when our own innocent women and children and unarmed men lost their lives on the high seas, and when their murder was insolently justified by the tyrannous Prussianized autocracy which now menaces the entire peace-loving and liberty-loving world.

2. We permitted our national policy to be swayed by the national devotions and national antipathies of men who exercised the rights of American citizens but who showed themselves traitors to America by the way in which they prostituted our citizenship to the interests of Germany, or to their hatred of England; men whose allegiance to this country was merely one of the lips, while in their hearts their loyalty was

wholly given to Germany, or else to any and every enemy of England, even although that enemy was also an enemy of the United States and of mankind. Such disloyalty was quite as mischievous as, and far less excusable than, sectional disloyalty.

3. It would be impossible to overstate the damage done to the moral fibre of our country by the professional pacifist propaganda, the peace-at-any-price propaganda, which had been growing in strength for the previous decade and which for the first two and a half years of the war was potent in influencing us as a people to play a part which was wholly unworthy of the teachings of the great men of our past. The professional pacifist movement was heavily financed by certain big capitalists. This was not merely admitted but blazoned abroad by some among them; whereas the accusations that the munition-makers, or any other interested persons, played any important part in the movement for preparedness were malicious falsehoods, well known to be such by those who uttered them. The professional pacifists during these two and a half years have occupied precisely the position of the copperheads during the time of Abraham Lincoln.

We now pay the same tribute of respect to the men who fought for their convictions in the Civil War, whether they wore the blue or the gray—kinsmen of mine were in the Union army, and other kinsmen of mine in the Confederate army, and I am equally proud of both. But nobody is proud of the copperheads, who exalted peace above righteousness; and the professional pacifists of to-day are their spiritual heirs.

At last, thank Heaven, we came to our senses, realized our shortcomings, and tardily did our duty. At last we spurned the mean counsels of timidity and folly. At last we showed that we were not too proud to fight; and we have reversed and repudiated the mean and base proposal to secure peace without victory. At last we took up the challenge which Germany had, with equal brutality and contempt, so often hurled

in our faces. At last we determined to make our loyalty to this nation's past, and to the welfare of humanity, a matter of deeds and not merely of empty words. We have entered the Great War for the future of civilization; and now that we are at war it behooves us to bear ourselves like men.

We are utterly unprepared. The things we are now doing, even when well done, are things which we ought to have begun doing three years ago. We can now only partially offset our folly in failing to prepare during these last three years, in failing to heed the lesson writ large across the skies in letters of flame and blood. Nine-tenths of wisdom consists in being wise in time! Now we must fight without proper preparation. But we must prepare as well as we can at this late date; and the most important of all forms of preparedness is spiritual preparedness.

First of all we must sternly insist that all our people practise the patriotism of service, and that we all give a fervid and undivided loyalty to our common country. Patriotism is an affair of deeds, and patriotic words are good only in so far as they result in deeds. If phrase-making and oratory, whether by public servants or by outsiders, are treated as substitutes for deeds, the result is unmixed mischief. We read Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech and Second Inaugural, only because his words were made good by his deeds, only because he threw aside all considerations other than the welfare of the nation, and with steadfast efficiency fought to the end for freedom and for the preservation of the Union.

As it was with that very great man in the past, so it must be with us lesser men in the present. Unless we now, at this moment, in this war, strive each of us to serve the country according to our several abilities, we are false to the memories of the nation-builders to whose sagacity and prowess we owe the creation of this State fifty years ago. Nebraska was founded as a State of the Union only because there were in the nation at that time enough men who were willing to do and dare and die at need for the Union. To-day likewise, the instant

and overwhelming need of the nation is for men who will serve in arms, and if necessary die, for the nation; and next to this is the need for the men and women who will put our entire industrial and agricultural strength back of the fighting men in the field. Only the men and women who do this are true patriots; for patriotism means service to the nation; and only those who render such service are fit to enjoy the privilege of citizenship.

We cannot render such service if our loyalty is in even the smallest degree divided between this and any other nation. There must be no division within our own ranks along the lines of creed or national origin; and any citizen of this country who uses his citizenship in the interest of some other country is a traitor to the United States. It is not merely our right, but our high duty, to insist on this fact. Twice, over a century ago, we fought Great Britain. In each contest the great majority of the citizens of British descent took the lead and proved that they were Americans and nothing else. Those who did not so act were traitors. Now we are at war with Germany; and every citizen of German blood is bound in this contest to show the same whole-hearted Americanism in support of the United States against Germany that was shown in 1776 and 1812 by the Americans of British descent in the contests with Great Britain. To act otherwise is to be guilty of treason.

In the Revolutionary War the British armies who strove against our liberties were aided by powerful bodies of German auxiliaries. One of Washington's most famous victories, that at Trenton, was gained purely over Germans; and his first military experience was against the French. But it would be unworthy folly now to inveigh against Germany because a hundred and forty years ago she furnished mercenary troops for our subjugation; or to inveigh against the French because they were the bitter foes of our people in Colonial days. It is precisely as unworthy, precisely as silly and wicked, now to nourish hatred against England. Washington's troops included

men of English and Irish, of German and French, blood. But they were Americans and nothing else! They did not ask whether they were to fight English, French, or Germans. They fought the foes of the American flag, whoever these foes might be.

This must be our spirit to-day. We are a different people from any people of Europe. It is our boast that we admit the immigrant to full fellowship and equality with the native-born. In return we demand that he shall share our undivided allegiance to the one flag which floats over all of us. The events of the last few years have conclusively shown that the man, whether of German or of any other origin, who attempts to combine allegiance to this country with allegiance to another, is necessarily false to this country.

In this country we must have but one flag, the American flag; but one language, the English language; and above all, but one loyalty, an exclusive and undivided loyalty to the United States, with no Lot's wife attitude, no looking back to the various Old World countries from which our ancestors have severally come.

Now for the lessons of preparedness—military and economic, spiritual and material. As yet, nearly five months after Germany declared war on us, we have not so much as a division of troops ready for action. As yet we are utterly helpless to act in our own defense. The fault lies primarily in our complete failure to prepare during the last three years since the Great War opened. Nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time! We have not been wise in time; and now we rely on our allies to protect us from the effect of our folly. Just think of what Germany would have done to us within the first month—not to speak of the first four months—after we broke off diplomatic relations with her if we had not been able to shield our feeble and short-sighted unreadiness behind the navy of Great Britain and the armies of the Allies. We owe our ignoble safety to the British fleet, and the French and English armies.

We escape paying an utterly ruinous payment for our folly only because the soldiers and sailors of our allies pay for it with their lives. Uncle Sam is in the undignified position of the man who gets on a street-car and then fumbles in his pocket while somebody else pays his fare.

If we had been willing to prepare, and if we had showed that we meant what we said, we would probably have prevented the war, and would certainly have brought it to a close as soon as we entered it. Now, friends, there is no use crying over spilt milk. But it is even worse to make believe that the milk was not spilt. The important thing is to face the fact of the spilling and resolve that it shall not be spilt again. Let us act in the spirit of the words of Abraham Lincoln at the close of the Civil War: "Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us therefore study the incidents of this as philosophy to learn wisdom from, and none of them as wrongs to be revenged." Let us manfully acknowledge how great have been our shortcomings for the last few years, and then let us, without a particle of revengeful or recriminatory or uncharitable feeling, learn from them wisdom to be applied in our future conduct. From this time on let us insist on an absolute and undivided Americanism in this land, untempered by any half allegiance to the countries from which our ancestors may severally have sprung, and untainted by any unworthy national animosity toward any other country. Let us prepare ourselves spiritually, economically, and in all military and naval matters—including as a permanent policy the policy of universal military training and service—so that never again shall we be utterly unready, as we now are, to meet a great crisis. Finally, in the present war, a war for liberty and democracy against the ruthless militaristic tyranny of the Prussianized Germany of the Hohenzollerns, let us as speedily as possible train our giant, but our soft and unready,

strength, so that we may use our hardened might to bring the slaughter to an end in the only way honorably possible, by securing for ourselves and our allies the peace of justice based on overwhelming victory.

APPENDIX

THE ROOSEVELT DIVISION

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE PRESIDENT AND THE
SECRETARY OF WAR

METROPOLITAN

432 Fourth Avenue, New York,
February 2, 1917.

SIR:

I have already on file in your Department, my application to be permitted to raise a Division of Infantry, with a divisional brigade of cavalry in the event of war (possibly with the permission to make one or two of the brigades of infantry, mounted infantry). In view of the recent German note, and of the fact that my wife and I are booked to sail next week for a month in Jamaica, I respectfully write you as follows:

If you believe that there will be war, and a call for volunteers to go to war immediately, I respectfully and earnestly request that you notify me at once, so that I may not sail. Otherwise, I shall sail, and in such case, I respectfully request that if or when it becomes certain that we will have war, and that there will be a call for volunteers to go to war, you will direct that a telegram be sent to me, at *The Metropolitan Magazine* office, New York, from whence a cable will be sent me to Jamaica, and I shall immediately return. I have prepared the skeleton outline of what I have desired the Division to be, and what men I should recommend to the Department, for brigade and regimental commanders, Chief of Staff, Chief Surgeon, Quartermaster-General, etc., etc. The men whom I would desire

for officers and enlisted men are, for the most part, men earning their living in the active business of life, who would be glad to go to war at their country's call, but who could not be expected, and who would probably refuse, to drop their business and see their families embarrassed, unless there is war, and the intention to send them to war. So it is not possible for me to do much more in the way of preliminary action than I have already done, until I have official directions.

Very respectfully,

Hon. Newton D. Baker, THEODORE ROOSEVELT.
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

Washington, February 3, 1917.

DEAR SIR:

I have received your letter of February 2. No situation has arisen which would justify my suggesting a postponement of the trip you propose. Your letter and its suggestion will be filed for consideration should occasion arise.

Very respectfully yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, *Secretary of War.*
432 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

METROPOLITAN

432 Fourth Avenue, New York,
February 7, 1917.

SIR:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter, informing me that I could go on my trip to Jamaica. It had crossed my letter to you informing you, that in view of the President having broken off diplomatic relations with Germany, I should of course abandon my trip.

In the event of being allowed to raise a division, I should of course strain every nerve to have it ready for efficient action at the earliest moment, so that it could be sent across with the first expeditionary force, if the Department were

willing. With this end in view, I am desirous of making all preparations that are possible in advance. I have intended, in the event of being allowed to raise a division, to request the Department to appoint Captain Frank McCoy, of the regular army, as my divisional Chief of Staff, with the rank of Colonel. Would it be proper for me to ask that he be permitted now to come on and see me here, so that I may immediately go over with him all the questions that it is possible to go over at this time, in connection with raising the division?

Very respectfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. Newton D. Baker,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

WAR DEPARTMENT

Washington, February 9, 1917.

SIR:

I beg to acknowledge receipt, yesterday, of your letter of the 7th instant.

In reply to your patriotic suggestion that in due time you be authorized to raise a division of troops for service abroad and that it is your desire, in anticipation of that authority, to take certain preliminary steps, I have to state the limitations under which the War Department is in respect to this matter.

No action in the direction suggested by you can be taken without the express sanction of Congress. Should the contingency occur which you have in mind, it is to be expected that Congress will complete its legislation relating to volunteer forces and provide, under its own conditions, for the appointment of officers for the higher commands.

Very respectfully,

NEWTON D. BAKER,

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt,
432 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Secretary of War.

Telegram

March 19, 1917.

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR:

Washington, D. C.:

In view of the fact that Germany is now actually engaged in war with us, I again earnestly ask permission to be allowed to raise a division for immediate service at the front. My purpose would be after some six weeks preliminary training here to take it direct to France for intensive training so that it could be sent to the front in the shortest possible time to whatever point was desired. I should of course ask no favors of any kind except that the division be put in the fighting line at the earliest possible moment. If the Department will allow me to assemble the division at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and will give me what aid it can, and will furnish arms and supplies as it did for the early Plattsburg camps, I will raise the money to prepare the division until Congress can act, and we shall thereby gain a start of over a month in making ready. I would like to be authorized to raise three three-regiment brigades of infantry, one brigade of cavalry, one brigade of artillery, one regiment of engineers, one motorcycle machine-gun regiment, one aero squadron, and of course the supply branches, and so forth. As Captain McCoy whom I asked to have detailed to me as Chief of Staff has been sent to Mexico, I would ask that Captain Moseley be immediately assigned me as Chief of Staff and Lieutenant-Colonel Allen, Major Howze and Major Harbord as brigade commanders. I would further ask for one regular officer of less rank, whose names I will suggest to you, for about every eight hundred or one thousand men in the division.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Telegram

Washington, D. C., March 20, 1917.

HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT:

Your telegram March nineteenth arrived. No additional armies can be raised without the specific authority of Congress which by its act of February 27, 1906, has also prohibited any executive department or other government establishment of the United States to involve the Government in any contract or other obligation for the future payment of moneys in excess of appropriations unless such contract or obligation is authorized by law. A plan for a very much larger army than the force suggested in your telegram has been prepared for the action of Congress whenever required. Militia officers of high rank will naturally be incorporated with their commands, but the general officers for all volunteer forces are to be drawn from the regular army.

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

Sagamore Hill, March 23, 1917.

TO THE SECRETARY OF WAR,

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram in answer to my telegram of the nineteenth, and will govern myself accordingly.

I understand, Sir, that there would be a far larger force than a division called out; I merely wished to be permitted to get ready a division for immediate use in the first expeditionary force sent over.

In reference to your concluding sentence, I wish respectfully to point out that I am a retired Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army, and eligible to any position of command over American troops to which I may be appointed. As for my fitness for command of troops, I respectfully refer you to

my three immediate superiors in the field, Lieutenant-General S. B. M. Young (retired), Major-General Samuel Sumner (retired), and Major-General Leonard Wood. In the Santiago campaign I served in the first fight as commander, first of the right wing, and then of the left wing, of the regiment; in the next, the big fight, as colonel of the regiment; and I ended the campaign in command of the brigade.

The regiment, First United States Volunteer Cavalry, in which I first served as lieutenant-colonel, and which I then commanded as colonel, was raised, armed, equipped, drilled, mounted, dismounted, kept for two weeks on a transport, and then put through two victorious aggressive fights, in which we lost a third of the officers, and a fifth of the enlisted men, all within a little over fifty days.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR

Washington, March 26, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: ¹

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the twenty-third. The military record to which you call my attention is, of course, a part of the permanent records of this Department and is available, in detail, for consideration.

The patriotic spirit of your suggestion is cordially appreciated.

Respectfully yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt,
Sagamore Hill.

¹ *Sic*; of course, an error for "Mr. Roosevelt."—T. R.

Oyster Bay, April 12, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

First, let me say how greatly I enjoyed our conversation the other day, and how much I appreciate your courtesy in calling upon me.

I enclose, in accordance with our conversation, copy of the letter I have just sent to Congressman Dent and to Senator Chamberlain. If there is any way in which you can suggest that I can be of further help to the Administration as regards your obligatory service bill, or as regards the loan, pray command me.

There is one point I did not have a chance to discuss with you, but I suppose it is hardly necessary. If I were a younger man I would be entirely content to go in any position, as a second lieutenant, or as a private in the force. With my age I cannot do good service, however, unless as a general officer. I remember when I went to the Spanish War there was talk about rejecting me on account of my eyes; but, of course, even in the position I then went in, it was nonsense to reject me for any such reason. To the position which I now seek, of course, the physical examination does not apply, so long as I am fit to do the work, which I certainly can do—that is enlisting the best type of fighting men, and putting into them the spirit which will enable me to get the best possible results out of them in the actual fight. Hindenburg was, of course, a retired officer, who had been for years on the retired list, and who could not physically have passed an examination. I am not a Hindenburg; but I can raise and handle this division in a way that will do credit to the American people, and to you, and to the President.

Very sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. Newton D. Baker,

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

WAR DEPARTMENT

Washington, April 13, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. ROOSEVELT:

I have thought earnestly about the subject of our conversation the night before last, and have reached some conclusions which I think, in frankness, I ought to indicate to you.

The War College Division of the General Staff has repeatedly reaffirmed a recommendation to me in the following language:

"The War College Division earnestly recommends that no American troops be employed in active service in any European theatre until after an adequate period of training, and that during this period all available trained officers and men in the Regular Army or National Guard be employed in training the new levies called into service. It should, therefore, be our policy at first to devote all our energies to raising troops in sufficient numbers to exert a substantial influence in a later stage of the war. Partially trained troops will be entirely unfit for such duty, and even if our regular forces and National Guard could be spared from training duty, their number is too small to exert any influence."

This policy I have a number of times approved. It is, of course, a purely military policy, and does not undertake to estimate what, if any, sentimental value would attach to a representation of the United States in France by a former President of the United States, but there are doubtless other ways in which that value could be contributed apart from a military expedition.

Co-operation between the United States and the Entente Allies has not yet been so far planned as that any decision has been reached upon the subject of sending an expeditionary force; but should any such force be sent, I should feel obliged to urge that it be placed under the command of the ablest and most experienced professional military man in our country, and that it be officered by and composed of men selected be-

cause of their previous military training and, as far as possible, actual military experience. My judgment reaches this conclusion for the reason that any such expedition will be made up of young Americans who will be sent to expose their lives in the bloodiest war yet fought in the world, and under conditions of warfare involving applications of science to the art, of such a character that the very highest degree of skill and training and the largest experience are needed for their guidance and protection. I could not reconcile my mind to a recommendation which deprived our soldiers of the most experienced leadership available, in deference to any mere sentimental consideration, nor could I consent to any expedition being sent until its members had been seasoned by most thorough training for the hardships which they would have to endure. I believe, too, that should any expeditionary force be sent by the United States, it should appear from every aspect of it that military considerations alone had determined its composition, and I think this appearance would be given rather by the selection of the officers from the men of the Army who have devoted their lives exclusively to the study and pursuit of military matters and have made a professional study of the recent changes in the art of war. I should, therefore, be obliged to withhold my approval from an expedition of the sort you propose.

I say these things, my dear Mr. Roosevelt, as the result of very earnest reflection, and because I think you will value a frank expression of my best judgment rather than an apparent acquiescence in a plan which I do not approve, drawn from my failure to comment.

With assurance of appreciation of your patriotic intentions, I beg leave, with great respect, to remain,

Sincerely yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt,
Oyster Bay, N. Y.

METROPOLITAN

432 Fourth Avenue, New York,
April 22, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

I thank you for your very frank and courteous letter of April 13th. Of course, my dear sir, you wish me to write with equal frankness in return, and I gladly do so. Since the German message of January 31st, which was practically a declaration of war, I have scrupulously refrained from public criticism of the Administration, keeping silent when I could not support it; but your letter makes it incumbent on me to speak plainly.

My whole purpose is to help make good the President's message. If we make it good by efficient *and speedy* action it will rank with the great state papers of our history. Otherwise, it will amount to nothing. I have ungrudgingly and wholeheartedly backed up the Administration's plans. There was much about these plans of which I entirely disapproved, but I did not wish to mar the support I was giving the President by anything public in the way of criticism. I felt that the employment of the national guard was a mistake; but I said nothing. I did, however, feel it imperative (without uttering one word of criticism of your plans) to make a strong appeal for the additional use of volunteers *who would otherwise be exempt from service*, for immediate service at the front. Not to make such use of them is in my opinion a capital mistake.

You say that only "military considerations" should govern your action. In that event I am unable to understand the effort to continue to utilize the national guard, when the actual experience on the border has shown that the attempt to do what was done in Mexico (and what it is now proposed to do in Europe) with the national guard inevitably produces waste, extravagance, military inefficiency and cruel injustice. Last summer you tried to mobilize the guard. You were not able to mobilize much more than half of it; and of this half three-

fifths had practically no training, and only one-fifth could shoot. Nothing more completely divorced from sound military policy can be imagined than this attempt to utilize the national guard. Did the General Staff protest against it? If so, their protest must have been overridden for non-military reasons. If they did not protest, and if they do not now protest, their advice on other military matters must be regarded as discredited in advance. In this letter of yours you say that only officers of the regular army (Army officers "who have devoted their lives exclusively to military matters") are to be sent on an expeditionary force. Yet the officers of the national guard are certainly called out on the theory that they are to be sent to the front. Some of them doubtless will be glad not to go. But many admirable men among them are eager to go; and it is a wrong to force them to abandon their business and go into camp when there is no serious intention to use them for the serious work that alone would justify requesting them to make the sacrifices they have made.

I wish to point out another thing. You decline my application on the ground of lack of military training and experience; and yet you are summoning, and have summoned to the field, numbers of military officers, as division and brigade commanders, who have not had one-tenth my experience. My dear sir, you forget that I have commanded troops in action in the most important battle fought by the United States Army during the last half-century, and that I have commanded a brigade in the campaign of which this battle was an incident.

I most heartily favor universal obligatory military training and service, not only as regards this war, but as a permanent policy of the Government. Selective obligatory military service, as a "temporary" expedient, is better than having resort *only* to volunteering; but it is a mischievous error to use it in order to prevent *all* volunteering. Universal obligatory service, as a permanent policy, is absolutely just, fair, democratic and efficient. But it needs a period of perhaps two years in order to produce first-class results; and so does the "selective"

substitute for it. It is folly not to provide by volunteering for the action that ought to be taken during these two years. (Volunteering to serve in the ranks of the regular army and national guard, of course, in no way meets the need.)

The vice of the volunteer system lies chiefly, not in the men who do volunteer, but in the men who don't. A chief, although not the only, merit in the obligatory system lies in its securing preparedness in advance. By our folly in not adopting the obligatory system as soon as this war broke out, we have forfeited this prime benefit of preparedness. You now propose to use its belated adoption as an excuse for depriving us of the benefits of the volunteer system. This is a very grave blunder. The only right course under existing conditions is to combine the two systems. My proposal is to use the volunteer system so that we can at once avail ourselves of the services of men who would otherwise be exempt, and to use the obligatory as the permanent system as to make all serve who ought to serve. You propose to use the belated adoption of the obligatory system as a reason for refusing the services of half the men of the nation who are most fit to serve, who are most eager to serve, and whose services can be utilized at once.

You quote with approval the recommendation of certain of your military advisers to the effect that no expeditionary force should soon be sent across to fight. They wish instead that "all the available trained officers and men in the regular army and national guard be employed in training the new levies" so as to exert a substantial influence in a "later stage of the war." You add that, as this is the proper "military policy," you do not think it should be departed from for any "sentimental value" or "sentimental consideration." I have not asked you to consider any "sentimental value" in this matter. I am speaking of moral effect, not of sentimental value. Sentimentality is as different from morality as Rousseau's life from Abraham Lincoln's. I have just received a letter from James Bryce urging "the despatch of an American force to the theatre of war" and saying, "The moral effect of

the appearance in the war line of an American force would be immense." From representatives of the French and British Governments, and of the French, British and Canadian military authorities, I have received statements to the same effect, in even more emphatic form, and earnest hopes that I myself should be in the force. Apparently your military advisers in this matter seek to persuade you that a "military policy" has nothing to do with "moral effect." If so, their militarism is like that of the Aulic Council of Vienna in the Napoleonic Wars, and not like that of Napoleon, who stated that in war the moral was to the material as two to one. These advisers will do well to follow the teachings of Napoleon and not those of the pedantic militarists of the Aulic Council, who were the helpless victims of Napoleon.

If we had been wise enough to begin thoroughgoing preparations two and a half years ago, after this great war broke out, and if, as the main feature thereof, we had introduced the principle of obligatory universal military training and service (and had also done such elementary things as running the Springfield factory at full speed, in which case we would now be a million rifles to the good), there would be scant need of a volunteer force now, for we would have been able to put a couple of million men, well armed and equipped, into the field, and would have finished this war at once. Nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time. But we were not wise in time. We did not prepare in advance the instruments which would alone be thoroughly satisfactory, and which cannot possibly be improvised to meet immediate needs. Therefore, let us use every instrument that is available to meet the immediate needs. Let us not advance our unwisdom in the past as a justification for fresh unwisdom in the present. If the people of a town do not prepare a fire company until a fire breaks out, they are foolish. But they are more foolish still if when the fire breaks out, they then decline to try to put it out with any means at hand, on the ground that they prefer to wait and drill a fire company. Your military advisers are now giving you precisely

such advice. Put out the fire with the means available, and at the same time start the drill of the fire company! •

Our nation has not prepared in any adequate way during the last two and a half years to meet the crisis which now faces us. You, therefore, propose that we shall pay billions of dollars to the allies to do our fighting for us, while we stay here in comfort and slowly proceed to train an army to fight in the end, unless the war is over, one way or the other, before our army is ready. This is exactly as if after Sumter was fired on, Lincoln had demanded a draft and declined to use volunteers in the interval. In such a case he would have doubtless had a good army in a year. But it would then have been useless because the Union would meanwhile have been destroyed. Or take the history of the past three years. In 1914 the British were unprepared. They were not nearly as unprepared as we now are, but inasmuch as their danger was far greater (for we have been safe behind the British fleet and the allied armies) their short-sightedness was probably as blameworthy as ours. For some years Lord Roberts had been preaching universal obligatory military training and service. They declined to profit by his preaching, and war came upon them. In consequence they were wholly unfit to do in the military way what they are now doing and what Germany and France could then do. They immediately sent abroad, however, a small military force which fought valiantly. They followed it by volunteer armies as rapidly as possible. They accepted masses of volunteers from Australia and Canada. All the time they were training the great armies they have now put in the field. If they had acted upon the principles which you desire us now to apply, they would have refused to send any troops at all to France; they would have declined to receive the Canadian and Australian volunteers; they would have kept all their regulars at home to train the new levies; and to any suggestion as to the "moral effect" of such conduct, they would have responded as you do when you say that a military policy should not deal with "sentimental values" and "sentimental

considerations." If England had adopted such a course, it is conceivable that after eighteen months her army would have been better than, as a matter of fact, it actually was; but this would not have been of much consequence, because if she had so acted the war would have been already lost.

Our task has been and is incomparably easier and safer than the tasks of the European powers in this war. Any one of them which behaved as we have behaved would long before this time have been ruined. And we can still secure a measure of material well-being while shirking our duty. If we follow the advice of the military men you quote we shall shirk our duty. I earnestly hope we refuse this advice, and play the part of men. I earnestly hope that we shall not advance our failure to provide universal obligatory military training in the past as an excuse for refusing to make use of the volunteer organizations that we can raise with reasonable rapidity in the present, while we are, with belated wisdom, introducing the principle of obligatory service.

My dear Mr. Secretary, the proposal, as you outline and adopt it, must come from doubtless well-meaning military men, of the red-tape and pipe-clay school, who are hidebound in the pedantry of that kind of wooden militarism which is only one degree worse than its extreme opposite, the folly which believes that an army can be improvised between sunrise and sunset. The two kinds of folly are nominally opposed, but really complementary to one another. It is unnecessary for me to say that military men differ among themselves in wisdom and far-sightedness, precisely as civilians do. The civilian heads of a government, when faced by a great military crisis, have to show their own wisdom primarily in sifting out the very wise military advice from the very unwise military advice which they will receive. This is especially true in a service where promotion is chiefly by seniority and where a large number of the men who rise high owe more to the possession of a sound stomach than to the possession of the highest qualities of head and heart. The military advice which you

have received in this matter is strikingly unwise. I do not know whether those giving it openly advocated the principle of universal obligatory military training two and a half years ago—not within the last few months when people everywhere have been waking up to the matter—but two and a half years ago. If they did not, then they themselves are partly responsible for the condition of unpreparedness which renders it expedient from every standpoint that we should utilize every military asset in the country.

The proposed bill of the Administration, in the last form shown me, was not to take any man over twenty-five. My proposal is to utilize the men who will not be brought in under your proposed conscription. If we had had a wise law for universal military training and service two and a half years ago, it certainly would have included some method for utilizing the men who would be of great value in war, but who are past the age limit when the first training would naturally be given. In the Spanish War I knew well the conditions of the training-camps. I know that men put into service for a long period of training with no certainty that they are ever to be employed at the front, will feel far more disheartened than if they could be sent to the front within a reasonable time. I am certain that as rapidly as possible the various units should be transferred to France for intensive training; that as soon as possible an American force, under the American flag, should be established on the fighting line, should be steadily fed with new men to keep its members to the required point, and steadily reinforced by other units, so that it would be playing a continually more important part in the fighting. It is an ignoble thing for us not to put our men into the fighting line at the earliest possible moment. Such failure will excite derision and may have a very evil effect upon our national future.

So much for the general consideration raised in your letter. Now, my dear sir, for what you specifically say about my offer. You say that the officers in command of any expedition must be chosen from the officers of the regular army, "who have de-

voted their lives exclusively to the study and pursuit of military matters," and have had "actual military experience," and that it would be improper to trust the "guidance and protection" of the young men sent abroad in such a force, to men like myself. Doubtless the rule you thus indicate is generally wise. But to follow it without exercising any judgment as to exceptions would have barred the Confederate Army from using Forrest, and the Union Army from using Logan, and would have kept Wood and Funston out of the Spanish War. Most certainly I do not claim to be a Forrest, or a Logan. But I ask you to consider my actual experience. In the Spanish War I took part in raising a regiment, which I afterward commanded. Exactly the same objections were made to the use of that regiment then that you now make to the use of the division (to be composed of just such regiments) which I ask leave to raise. One of the pacifist papers of that day, about a week prior to our going into action, gave expression to this feeling as follows—"competent observers have remarked that nothing more extraordinary has been done than the sending to Cuba of the first United States volunteer cavalry, known as the Rough Riders. Organized but four weeks, barely given their full complement of officers, and only a week of regular drill, these men have been sent to the front before they have learned the first elements of soldiery and discipline. There have been few cases of such military cruelty in our military annals." This was the prophecy. The fulfilment you will find in the reports of the expedition. In health, in achievement, and in the loss necessarily paid to purchase the achievement, the regiment stood with the best and most forward of the regular regiments with which it served. This efficiency was, of course, largely due to the way we set about raising it, and to the character of its first Colonel—Leonard Wood. He was at the time a surgeon in the U. S. Army. When President McKinley offered me the Colonelcy, I said I would take the Lieutenant-Colonelcy if he would make Wood Colonel. Since then Wood's record of achievement (for which he was

conspicuously recognized by President McKinley—his promotion of a later date having been in the regular order) has been on a par with that of Lord Kitchener prior to the outbreak of the present war; Lord Cromer once said to me that Wood's administration of Cuba was the greatest feat of the kind that had been done in our time.

At the close of the campaign, I was in command of the brigade, which consisted of my regiment and of two regular regiments. Since then I have been commander-in-chief of the Army of the United States, and devoted much time and thought to the study of military and naval problems throughout the seven and a half years when I was President. I now ask permission to raise a division to consist of regiments like the regiment which I commanded in the Santiago campaign (and I can raise you an army corps on this basis). If I were young enough I should be willing to raise that division, and myself merely go as a second lieutenant in it. As it is, I believe I am best fitted to be the division commander in an expeditionary corps, under the chief of that corps; but if you desire to put me in a less position, and make me a brigade commander, I will at once raise the division, and can raise it without difficulty, if it is to be put under any man of the type of General Wood, General Pershing, or General Kuhn. These men served with loyalty and efficiency under me when I was President, and I believe that they will tell you, and that my former commanders, Lieutenant-General Young, retired, and Major-General Sumner, retired, will tell you that I will serve with loyalty and efficiency and entire subordination under my superiors. Of course, my dear sir, I could not raise the division speedily and satisfactorily without the active and generous support of yourself and of the Department.

As for the young Americans who you feel should have better guidance and protection than I can give them, my dear Mr. Secretary, why not let them judge for themselves? The great majority of the men who were in my old regiment will eagerly come forward under me, in so far as they are yet fit. I be-

lieve I can appeal to the natural fighting men of this country. The plan you outline in your letter makes most of these men useless as a military asset to the United States at the very time when they could be most useful. Let me give you two examples. If you grant me permission, I would put at the head of most of my regiments, captains, or young majors in the regular army. One of my three civilian Colonels would probably be Roger Williams, of Kentucky, who is now a Major-General in the National Guard. The other two would be John Greenway, of Arizona, and John Groome, the head of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary. I believe that only the very best men in the regular army would be better colonels than Greenway and Groome. They can be used to render to the United States the splendid service they will render, if I am given the division for which I ask; otherwise, if the plan you outline is put in effect, they will be left unused at the very time when their services would be most valuable. As for the time necessary to train the division, I refer you to the time in which my regiment was utilized in the Spanish War. I have just received, from one of the highest Canadian military authorities, a letter running in part as follows: "I can personally say that with the Canadian system of intensive military training your announced plan to have Americans at the front in four months would be entirely practical." Under your orders, and by the aid of your department, I am confident this could be done. If, when I made my offer to you nearly three months ago, you had aided me in going ahead (the money I offered was as a gift, not a loan; the justification for the government's permitting its use would have been precisely the same as the justification for permitting the men—all volunteers by the way—recently summoned to the officers' training-camp at Plattsburg to pay portions of their own expenses, or have their friends pay them, which your department has directed), and if the department had acted toward my division as General Wood acted toward the original Plattsburg camp (which started our whole Officers' Reserve movement), that division

would now be ready to sail for France for the intensive training.

I desire that you judge me on my record. All I am asking is the chance to help make good the President's message of April 2d. If you don't know whether the governments of the allies would like me to raise such a division, and take it abroad at the earliest possible moment, I wish you would ask those governments yourself their feeling in the matter. I know that they earnestly desire us to send our men to the fighting line; and I have been informed from the highest sources that they would like to have me in the fighting line. Of course, they will not desire to have me go, or the division go, unless the Administration expresses its willingness.

Let me repeat that if you permit me to raise a division, it will be composed of men who would not be reached in the bill you proposed to Congress, and who would otherwise not be utilized at all. I should, of course, like your authority to have about two regular officers for every thousand men, and perhaps four of the Reserve Officers for every thousand men, and perhaps certain additional ones if you saw fit to grant them. But the subtraction of these men from the number of men available to train the force called out under your proposed bill would be inconsiderable, compared to the immense gain which would come from having such a division put into the fighting line at the earliest moment. You already know the names of some of the regular officers for whom I would ask you. At the head of the medical corps I would ask for Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Page, U. S. A. You, of course, know the record of Colonel Page as surgeon and medical director. He has his arrangements made, if he is allowed to go with me; and I believe that no division of any regular army would go with a better medical and surgical preparation that we should have under Colonel Page. In four months the men of the division would have been seasoned, under the thorough training which you rightly demand. Most of the men who would come forward would be seasoned already, exactly as was the

case in my regiment nineteen years ago. Very many would have had military training and experience. I very earnestly hope you will be able to grant my request, sir. I make it not only because I most earnestly desire to serve the country under the President and under you, but because I am certain that in this way I can render the best service.

Very respectfully,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. Newton D. Baker,
Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

WAR DEPARTMENT

Washington, May 5, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. ROOSEVELT:

I have read several times your long letter of April 22nd, and find myself much embarrassed in attempting more than mere acknowledgment of its receipt. For obvious reasons I cannot allow myself to be drawn into a discussion of your military experience and qualifications. That is a subject upon which my personal opinion would be of little importance and upon which I am without the technical qualifications to form a judgment. Nor can I undertake a general defense of regular army officers and particularly of my associates in the General Staff against your suggestion that they may be possibly "of the red-tape and pipe-clay school." They are, after all, that part of our professional army of longest experience and by our law are my constituted military advisers. Incidentally, however, I cannot refrain from saying that I have found them men of intense and discerning enthusiasm for their profession, filled with loyalty to their country, and very zealous so to train, equip and use our military forces as to make them most effective and to minimize to the utmost the inevitable losses of life which all uses of such forces necessarily entail. I am, of course, not unaware that there are soldiers not now connected

with the General Staff who have an absentee sense of superiority about the conduct of business in which they are not personally participating; but all such differences of opinion must of necessity be resolved in favor of those who are charged with the responsibility for action, as, no doubt, your own experience as an executive has shown.

The questions raised by your letter, however, seem to me to become simple when stripped of personal considerations. The war in Europe is confessedly stern, steady and relentless. It is a contest between the morale of two great contending forces. Any force sent by the United States into this contest should be so chosen as, first, to depress as far as may be the morale of the enemy; second, to stimulate as far as may be the morale of our associates in arms; third, in itself to be as efficient from a military point of view as is possible, and fourth, so organized and led as to reduce its own losses and sacrifices to the minimum.

As between a hastily summoned and unprofessional force on the one hand and a part of the regular professional army of the United States on the other, I am convinced that our adversary would esteem the former lightly; that our associates would be depressed by the despatch of such a force, deeming it an evidence of our lack of seriousness about the nature of the enterprise. Unless the whole theory of having a professional army is vicious, a portion of our professional army would be more efficient from a military point of view than such a hastily summoned force, and, quite obviously, the long and systematic training to which the members of our regular army are subjected will have taught them better how to fight without needless exposure and how to protect their health and diminish their losses both in camp and on the field.

Thus, upon every consideration, my mind justifies the conclusion expressed to you in my letter of April 13th. This reasoning quite frankly eliminates the consideration of personality; but upon that subject there is so much uncertainty of judgment that I do not feel that I could with confidence

elect a course at plain variance with every other consideration in order to satisfy a personal conclusion based wholly upon a personal consideration.

Cordially yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER.

Secretary of War.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt,
432 Fourth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.

METROPOLITAN

432 Fourth Avenue, New York,
May 8, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

Many thanks for your letter of May 5th.

You say that the questions raised by my letter are "simple when stripped of personal considerations." You then describe the war in Europe, and the objects to be achieved by the United States sending over a force to take part in the contest. I, of course, entirely agree with what you thus say as to the nature of the war, the need of our sending over an efficient force to depress the morale of our enemy, and to raise that of our friends.

Your next paragraph indicates that your present intention is to send over a portion of the "regular professional army of the United States" (rather than use a force, such as I suggest); and you state in the following paragraph that in consequence your mind "justifies the conclusion" expressed in your letter of April 13th. But, my dear Mr. Secretary, this is the direct reverse of the conclusion of your letter of April 13th. In that letter you approved the recommendation of the general staff, that the regular army of the United States should *not* be sent over as an expeditionary force, but, on the contrary, should in its entirety be kept here to train the selective draft army; and you dismissed, as of "sentimental" and "no military" value, the idea of sending over this force at once. In your present

letter you take the ground that such a force *should* be sent over, and give as two of the reasons that it would depress the morale of the enemy, and stimulate the morale of our associates in arms. I entirely agree with the position taken by you in this letter as to immediately sending an expeditionary force abroad, and as to the fact that it would, among other objects, achieve the two above mentioned. But permit me, my dear Mr. Secretary, to say that this shows that you have reversed the action of the general staff, which you approved in your letter of April 13th, and surely the need of such reversal, as regards the most vital military matter which must immediately be decided, shows that my criticism of the men who gave you the advice was exactly justified. The matter of most immediate importance, which the staff had to decide at the time you wrote me on April 13th, was whether we should at once begin sending forces to the other side, or whether the entire regular army and everybody else fitted to do any soldiering should be kept on this side to train our army for a year or two, in order, as you phrased it in your letter, to use the army for decisive effect in the later stages of the war. The general staff adopted the latter view as you stated in your letter of April 13th. I protested, with all possible emphasis, against this view. The French and the military authorities, with the utmost emphasis, have since protested against it also, and have taken, in this matter, exactly the position which I took in my letter to you, and in my letters to Senator Chamberlain and Mr. Dent, and in my public utterances. From your letter, and from the statements in the press, I gather that the Administration has now reversed the position which was thus taken by the general staff, and, as regards sending abroad an expeditionary force, has come to the position I have so earnestly advocated, and which I set forth in detail in the letter that you have now answered.

There remains the question of the composition of the force, and inasmuch, my dear Mr. Secretary, as in one of the vital matters the general staff misled you, and inasmuch as my ad-

vice has proved to be right, I beg you to at least consider the reasons I now advance for the advice I propose to give as regards another phase of the matter.

There is every reason why a portion of the regular army should go abroad. There is also every reason why, in view of the smallness of the regular army and the need of its giving instruction, this proportion should not be too large. There is, therefore, every reason why the force should consist of a proportion of the regular army as a nucleus, with an efficient volunteer force under and with it. Under the act of March 2, 1899, volunteer regiments were raised which, in actual service in the Philippines, did almost as well as the regular regiments, especially when mixed with them. My own regiment in Cuba was raised under substantially similar legislation, and so I know, at first hand, of what I am speaking. Our own regular troops, not having been trained in modern warfare, would themselves need some preliminary training in the theatre of war before we could expect them to be as good as their French or English allies, or German foes. Volunteer regiments, chosen as above indicated, and used as hereinafter outlined in close association with the regulars, could be made almost as good as the regulars during this period of training—and here again, my dear Mr. Secretary, remember that I am not making a mere guess, for I am stating what actually occurred in connection with my regiment at Santiago, and with the other United States volunteer regiments in the Philippines.

I, therefore, respectfully but earnestly, suggest, that I be allowed, under the direction of the War Department, to raise, or help raise, an army corps of two divisions. Inasmuch as we have no artillery fit to go into the battle front abroad, and inasmuch as it is at least doubtful whether artillery ought to be included permanently in the organization of an infantry division, I assume you would not wish this first expeditionary force to have artillery. Furthermore, I believe you will find that the wisest military men do not sympathize with the plan

of having one divisional regiment of cavalry with each division. Cavalry should be able to act as a mass. I therefore very earnestly recommend that in connection with each division we raise a three-regiment brigade of cavalry. As long as the fighting is in the trenches, this cavalry will be used dismounted, and will represent an addition to the infantry strength of equal value. (As soon as we began to fight outside the trenches, the two brigades could be joined together, and could be used as a small cavalry division, under the direction of the corps commander.)

Each of the divisions sent over would thus consist, in addition to the supply, transportation, and other services, of three three-regiment infantry brigades, one three-regiment cavalry brigade, a regiment of engineers, and a regiment of machine-guns. (I will give you the details of the organization, if you so desire, and send you also a carefully wrought-out blueprint of the entire organization of the division.) For a corps of two divisions, therefore, there would be six infantry brigades, two cavalry brigades, two machine-gun regiments, and two engineers regiments, or twenty-eight regiments in all. There should be one regular regiment in every cavalry or infantry brigade; eight regular regiments in all. This would leave twenty volunteer regiments. As regards four of these, I would suggest civilian colonels, two of them being of the National Guard; namely, Brigadier-General Roger Williams of Kentucky, and Colonel Forman of Illinois, together with Colonel John Groome of the Pennsylvania State Constabulary, and John C. Greenway of Arizona. For the other sixteen colonels, together with the corps and divisional chiefs of staff and the like, I would suggest to you captains and junior majors from the regular army, including such men as those I have mentioned—Frank McCoy, Fitz Hugh Lee, Edgar Collins, Phil Sheridan, Moseley, Gordon Johnston, Jim Shelley, Hugh D. Wise, and two Parker brothers (one cavalry, one infantry), Smedberg, Goethals, Quekenmeyer, Quackenbush, Baer, Fitch, Lincoln Andrews, and others. For brigade commanders I

would suggest to you to appoint men like Lieutenant-Colonel Allen, Colonel Howze, and Major Harbord. Rear-Admiral Winslow, retired, would make an admirable brigade commander. The corps and division commanders would be, I presume, men already with the rank of general, whom you chose; any men of the stamp of those mentioned in my previous letter would do admirably. I would be glad to accept the junior brigadier-generalship, ranking behind the other seven brigade commanders, as well, of course, as the division and corps commanders. This would be merely giving me the position which I held at the close of the Santiago campaign when, because of my conduct in the field, I was recommended by my superior officers, not only for promotion, but for the medal of honor and for brevets.

In addition, I should trust that you would allow certain junior officers, men like Lieutenant Stonewall Jackson Christian, Lieutenant Wainwright, Lieutenant Chaffee, and others of like position, to come in as majors or adjutants, or with similar rank. If possible, I should like to use, in each volunteer regiment, two or three regulars, and six or eight, or ten reserve officers from the Plattsburg and similar camps, together with half a dozen of the best non-commissioned officers, giving these the rank of second lieutenant. This would not represent an appreciable drawing off of strength from the body of men you wish to use in training the draft army, for you have about thirty-five thousand men in the training-camps, and this proposal of mine would only be to take out, all told, from the officers and non-commissioned officers of the regular army, and from the reserve officers, between two hundred and three hundred men, who would be employed in training some forty thousand volunteers. These volunteers would be men of exceptional quality, enlisted for the war, with the special purpose of being immediately sent to the fighting line in Europe.

Under this plan you would immensely increase the size of the army you sent abroad, and, owing to the nature of the

volunteer regiments, four-fifths of whom would be under regular officers, and all of them brigaded with regulars, the force would be almost or practically as good as if composed solely of regulars; and yet you would not be sending abroad a wholly disproportioned amount of our small regular army, and would be enabled to use the others for the purposes of instruction at home. The two divisions at the front would be kept filled, all the losses being made good by recruits, and as rapidly as possible other divisions would be put beside them. In each case, as soon, or almost as soon, as raised, the brigades and divisions would be sent across to, or just behind, the theatre of war in France, or if this was impossible, at least to England, and there trained in bayonet work, bombing, gassing, and all the other incidents of modern trench warfare.

I have the highest respect for the individual officers and men of the National Guard, the greatest admiration for the patriotism of those who served on the border last year, and a thorough belief in the efficiency of the National Guard for its proper duty, which is purely state duty. But, of course, divided control between state and nation is thoroughly vicious. Moreover, many of the men in the National Guard are family men, supporting their families by their wages, and it is a cruel injustice to these men to take them to the front when there are literally millions of other men who ought to go first. Again, there are plenty of men in the National Guard who can do state work well, but who are not fit for a gruelling campaign. Therefore, the National Guard regiment should not be sent out *as such*, if there is a desire either to do equal justice to the men or to secure efficient results. Each regiment should furnish a nucleus—which might be a quarter, or which might be a half of its strength, and which would be composed both of officers and enlisted men, and should, in most cases, be put under the command of a regular officer; then, around this nucleus as a framework, could be built up a purely National United States regiment, either by volunteering or by the draft. Such a regiment would be fit for duty

very quickly, and would render admirable service; while at the same time these guardsmen who ought *not* to be asked to undertake a foreign campaign would be left within the state, to do the necessary and important state duty which the National Guard is peculiarly fitted to perform.

The selective draft has been authorized by Congress. The Harding amendment, or similar measures, will enable the Government to admirably use men who desire to serve, whose ardor it is certainly unwise to damp, who could render invaluable service, and who otherwise would be unused. If this amendment is adopted, and the Department authorizes me to raise a force as above outlined, I can at once assign the regular officers whom the Department desires as colonels to different localities, where they can raise regiments or battalions, already provisionally provided. We can get private help precisely as in connection with the training-camps. While, of course, we cannot act as instantaneously as if we had begun these steps a couple of months ago, yet we can act with great speed, and in a way to establish the best possible precedent, while at the same time we are putting a substantial force of good fighting men on the firing-line at the earliest possible moment.

I am, sir, with great respect

Very sincerely,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Hon. Newton D. Baker,

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

WAR DEPARTMENT

May 11, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. ROOSEVELT:

I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 8th.

It does not seem to me that the considerations urged affect in any degree the soundness of the conclusions stated in my letter of May 5th, and I suppose that, since the responsibility

for action and decision in this matter rests upon me, you shall have to regard the determination I have already indicated as final, unless changing circumstances require a restudy of the whole question.

I appreciate your willingness so thoroughly to discuss this important subject, and have read with interest your suggestions for organization and action. It is, of course, unpleasant to find myself at variance with you in a matter of opinion of this sort, but the earnestness with which you have pressed your views is a comforting assurance of the zeal with which you will co-operate in carrying forward unitedly, whole-heartedly and effectively the operations determined upon, now that this particular phase of the question is finally disposed of.

NEWTON D. BAKER,
Secretary of War.

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt,
432 Fourth Avenue, New York.

Telegram

May 18, 1917.

TO THE PRESIDENT:

White House, Washington, D. C.

I respectfully ask permission immediately to raise two divisions for immediate service at the front under the bill which has just become law, and hold myself ready to raise four divisions, if you so direct. I respectfully refer for details to my last letters to the Secretary of War. If granted permission, I earnestly ask that Captain Frank McCoy be directed to report to me at once. Minister Fletcher has written me that he is willing. Also if permission to raise the divisions is granted, I would like to come to Washington as soon as the War Department is willing, so that I may find what supplies are available, and at once direct the regular officers who are chosen for brigade and regimental commands how and where to get to work.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Telegram

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington, D. C., May 19, 1917.

I very much regret that I cannot comply with the request in your telegram of yesterday. The reasons I have stated in a public statement made this morning, and I need not assure you that my conclusions were based upon imperative considerations of public policy and not upon personal or private choice.

WOODROW WILSON.

LETTER

Sent to each of various men who had done work in personally raising units for the proposed divisions which were finally authorized by Congress:

May 25, 1917.

MY DEAR SIR:

You have doubtless seen the President's announcement wherein he refused to make use of the Volunteer Forces which Congress had authorized him to permit me to raise.

Prior to this announcement by the President, I had sent him a telegram as follows:

[Here 'I included the two telegrams quoted immediately above.]

Accordingly, I communicated with as many of the men who had agreed to raise units for service in this division as possible, and after consultation with about twenty of them I issued the statement which is herewith appended.

I now release you and all your men. I wish to express my deep sense of obligation to you and to all those who had volunteered under and in connection with this division.

As you doubtless know, I am very proud of the Rough Riders, the First Volunteer Cavalry, with whom I served in the Spanish-American War. I believe it is a just and truthful statement of the facts when I say that this regiment did

as well as any of the admirable regular regiments with which it served in the Santiago campaign. It was raised, armed, equipped, drilled, mounted, dismounted, kept two weeks aboard transports and put through two victorious aggressive fights in which it lost one-third of the officers and one-fifth of the men; all within sixty days from the time I received my commission.

If the President had permitted me to raise the four divisions, I am certain that they would have equalled the record, only on a hundredfold larger scale. They would have all been on the firing-line before or shortly after the draft army had begun to assemble, and moreover they could have been indefinitely reinforced, so that they would have grown continually stronger and more efficient.

I regret from the standpoint of the country that your services were not utilized. But the country has every reason to be proud of the zeal, patriotism and businesslike efficiency with which you came forward.

With all good wishes,

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

May 21, 1917.

To the men who have volunteered for immediate service on the firing-line in the divisions which Congress authorized.

The President has announced that he will decline to permit those divisions to be organized or to permit me to have a command in connection with such a force. After consultation yesterday, personally or by wire, with some of the men who have volunteered to raise units—regiments and battalions—for the divisions, including John C. Groome, of Pennsylvania; Seth Bullock, of South Dakota; John C. Greenway, of Arizona; John M. Parker, of Louisiana; Robert Carey, of Wyoming; J. P. Donnelly, of Nevada; Sloan Simpson, of Texas; D. C. Collier and F. R. Burnham, of California; I. L.

Reeves, Frazer Metzger, and H. Nelson Jackson, of Vermont; Harry Stimson, W. J. Schieffelin, and William H. Donovan, of New York, and Messrs. James R. Garfield, Raymond Robins, R. H. Channing, David M. Goodrich, W. E. Dame, George Roosevelt, Richard Derby and various others who were immediately accessible, it was decided unanimously that in view of the decision of the President the only course open to us is forthwith to disband and to abandon all further effort in connection with the divisions, thereby leaving each man free to get into the military service in some other way, if that is possible, and, if not, then to serve his country in civil life as he best can.

As good American citizens we loyally obey the decision of the Commander-in-Chief of the American Army and Navy. The men who have volunteered will now consider themselves absolved from all further connection with this movement. The funds that have been promised will be treated as withdrawn and applied to other purposes. I therefore direct that this statement be sent to the leaders in the various states who have been raising troops and that it be published.

Our sole aim is to help in every way in the successful prosecution of the war and we most heartily feel that no individual's personal interest should for one moment be considered save as it serves the general public interest. We rejoice that a division composed of our fine regular soldiers and marines under so gallant and efficient a leader as General Pershing is to be sent abroad. We have a right to a certain satisfaction in connection therewith.

The Brooklyn *Eagle* last evening stated authoritatively that "the sending of this expedition was a compromise between the original plans of the General Staff, which favored no early expedition, and the request of Colonel Roosevelt for authority for an immediate expedition. The Roosevelt agitation, backed by the express desire of such distinguished military leaders as General Joffre and General Petain, unquestionably had its effect in bringing about the Pershing expedition. The com-

promise is that France gets American soldiers in the trenches, but Roosevelt will not lead or accompany them. It is believed in Washington that any criticism for turning down Roosevelt will be fully answered by the fact that American soldiers are going over."

If this gives the explanation of the matter, I gladly say that we are all unselfishly pleased to have served this use, although naturally we regret not to have been allowed ourselves to render active service.

It is due to the men who have come forward in this matter during the three and a half months since February 2d, when I began the work of raising one or more divisions, that the following facts should be known:

If yesterday my offer immediately to raise four divisions for immediate use at the front had been accepted the various units of the first division would to-morrow have begun to assemble at whatever points the War Department had indicated, and they would have assembled in full force and without an hour's delay as rapidly as the War Department directed them where to go and as soon as it provided them camping-places, tents, blankets, etc.

We were prepared by the use of private funds partly to make good any immediate lack in such supplies as regards many of the units. Fifteen days afterward the second division would have mobilized in a similar fashion, and then, at intervals of thirty days, the two other divisions.

In accordance with what I had found to be the wish of the military authorities among our allies, each of the divisions would have been ready to sail for France for intensive training at the theatre of war within thirty days of the time it began to mobilize, if the War Department were able to furnish supplies; and we would have asked permission to use the rifles and ammunition now in use in the French and British armies.

All four divisions would have sailed and two would have been on the firing-line by September 1st, the time at which the Secretary of War has announced that the assembling of

the selective draft army is to begin. About one-half of our men, at least of those in the first division, were men who had already seen military service.

I wish respectfully to point out certain errors into which the President has been led in his announcement. He states that the purpose was to give me an "independent" command. In my last letter to the Secretary of War I respectfully stated that if I were given permission to raise an army corps of two divisions, to be put under the command of some General like Wood or Bell or Pershing or Barry or Kuhn, I desired for myself only the position of junior among the eight brigade commanders. My position would have been exactly the same as theirs, except that I would have ranked after and have been subordinate to the rest of them.

The President alludes to our proffered action as one that would have an effect "politically," but as not contributing to the "success of the war," and as representing a "policy of personal gratification or advantage." I wish respectfully but emphatically to deny that any political consideration whatever or any desire for personal gratification or advantage entered into our calculations. Our undivided purpose was to contribute effectively to the success of the war.

I know nothing whatever of the politics of the immense majority of the men who came forward, and those whose politics I do know numbered as many Democrats as Republicans. My purpose was to enable the Government to use as an invaluable military asset the men who would not be reached under the selective draft, who were fit for immediate service, and the great majority of whom would not otherwise be used at all.

As above pointed out, all four divisions, if the War Department could equip them, would have been sent to the aid of our hard-pressed allies before the training of the selective draft army was even begun, and they would not have been put into the firing-line until the French and British military authorities deemed them fit.

The President says in effect that to comply with our offer would have been mischievous from the military standpoint and he adds that the regular officers whom I have asked to have associated with me are "some of the most effective officers of the regular army," who "cannot possibly be spared from the duty of training regular troops." One of the chief qualifications for military command is to choose for one's associates and subordinates "the most effective officers," and this qualification the President thus states that I possess.

As for my withdrawing them from the "more pressing and necessary duty of training" the troops, I wish to point out that I had asked for about fifty regular officers from lieutenant-colonels to second lieutenants for the first division. This would be only about one-tenth of the number who will go with General Pershing's division which, the President announces, is to be composed exclusively of regulars. Therefore, the present plan will take from "most pressing and necessary duty" about ten times as many regular officers as would have been taken under our proposal.

It has been stated that the regular officers are opposed to our plan. As a matter of fact "the most effective" fighting officers have been eager to be connected with or to have under them the troops we proposed to raise.

The President condemns our proposal on the ground that "undramatic" action is needed, action that is "practical and of scientific definiteness and precision." There was nothing dramatic in our proposal save as all proposals indicating eagerness or willingness to sacrifice life for an ideal are dramatic. It is true that our division would have contained the sons or grandsons of men who in the Civil War wore the blue or the gray; for instance, the sons or grandsons of Phil Sheridan, Fitz Hugh Lee, Stonewall Jackson, James A. Garfield, Simon Bolivar Buckner, Adna W. Chaffee, Nathan Bedford Forest; but these men would have served either with commissions or in the ranks, precisely like the rest of us; and all alike would

have been judged solely by the efficiency—including the “scientific definiteness”—with which they did their work and served the flag of their loyal devotion.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

In view of the President's reference to the “political” effect and “personal gratification or advantage” involved in the offer to raise the divisions in question it is but just to point out the following facts:

My offer was first made long before the German note of January 31st last. I repeated it immediately after that date, on the morning of February 2d. If the offer had been accepted at that time a division would have been ready to sail for France in April, the moment that Congress declared that war existed. We received, all told, applications from over three hundred thousand men for the divisions. From our rough preliminary examinations we were able to guarantee that we could from these have raised over two hundred thousand—double the number that the four divisions would have contained.

On February 9th the President's secretary of war stated, as a reason for refusing my offer, that Congress must provide “under its own conditions” for raising troops. When Congress did thus provide, the President refused to act under the conditions provided.

The President's suggestion that I had asked for an “independent” command was in flat contradiction of the facts; which were all before him when he made the statement. I had repeatedly and explicitly asked to be put under the command of whatever commander was chosen for the expedition.

On April 13th Mr. Baker wrote that there was to be no expedition sent to the front until the armies were trained [which would be some time in 1918]. Before May 8th, the pressure initiated by my offer caused him, or his chief, to reverse this decision, and therefore to save this nation the humiliation of taking no military part in the war throughout 1917 and part of 1918.

The refusal of the President to accept my offer was supported and applauded by the leaders among the zealous and intelligent partisans of Germany and opponents of war with Germany in this country, including senators such as Messrs. LaFollette and Stone, and papers like Mr. Hearst's, and the German-American press generally.

Mr. Wilson's secretary of war in April advanced as a reason for refusing my application, that commanding officers ought to be "selected because of their previous military training, and, as far as possible, actual military experience." In August, four months later, Mr. Wilson nominated for the position of brigadier-general, a gentleman from New York, whose "military training and experience" apparently consisted in having been a captain in the militia, a major in a volunteer regiment which did not leave the country, and adjutant-general under Governor Sulzer. The Senate requested from the Administration information as to the nominee's military record. The nomination was then withdrawn, on the ground of temporary physical incapacity. A number of the nominations which were not withdrawn were seemingly of substantially similar character.

President Wilson's reasons for refusing my offer had nothing to do either with military considerations or with the public needs.

THE GREAT ADVENTURE

PRESENT-DAY STUDIES IN AMERICAN NATIONALISM

THE INSPIRATION OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT

BY E. A. VAN VALKENBURG

THE place of a public man in history, however great his intellectual and moral attainments, cannot be definitely fixed by his own generation. Only the test of time can prove his works, only the perspective of distance determine his true stature. If there is an exception to this rule, it is Theodore Roosevelt. Already he has taken a rank of which history will not deprive him, standing with Washington and Lincoln as one of the trinity of great Americans.

When it is considered that his career and character by their very nature were provocative of controversies, the unanimity of this verdict is a tribute of striking force. Instinct and circumstance made his life one long warfare. Always a pioneer, he incessantly disturbed and offended supporters of the *status quo*; a militant champion of popular government and human rights, he inevitably antagonized powerful interests and groups which menaced those institutions. Thus as police commissioner in the city of Tammany he fought the spoils system and the politicians and their financial allies who operated it. As governor of New York he came into conflict with Wall Street and with bossism in his own party. As President he fought both the predatory interests which were exploiting the public, and Cannonism, their political instrument. From these contests he emerged with a great following, but with enemies more numerous, determined, and resourceful than ever before confronted a public man. Yet in the face of this he delivered the supreme challenge of declaring war not only upon the reactionary interests but upon the party which had honored him. Because under the Taft administration the policies to which the

party had been pledged were cast aside, Roosevelt took up the fight anew, and proved his leadership by winning the support of the Republican voters. Defrauded of the nomination, he then responded to the demand that he lead the Progressive cause. This meant the severing of old political ties, the breaking of cherished friendships, the meeting of rancorous hostility. In that campaign he piled up enmities against himself by inflicting upon the Republican party defeat and humiliation after more than half a century of almost uninterrupted power, and he passed into private life seemingly discredited among its leaders and adherents.

Then came the war, and conscience compelled him to undertake the hazardous task of opposing the President on the gravest issues of national and international policy. At a time when the prevailing teaching was pacifism, when his countrymen were being admonished to be "neutral even in thought" and "too proud to fight," he championed the imperilled cause of world justice and democracy and preached a flaming crusade in behalf of America's duty to defend the right. It all seemed vain, for in 1916 President Wilson was re-elected upon the baseless and discreditable assumption that he had "kept us out of war." Never had the political fortunes of Roosevelt been at lower ebb; never had he been so long and so repeatedly on the unpopular side of great questions. He was perfectly aware of this, for he said one day to the present writer: "This is the first time in my public career that I have been conscious that a majority of the American people are against me instead of with me." Yet he did not falter, did not abate in the remotest degree the vigor of his fight for the things in which he believed. He continued to advocate preparedness, to denounce the laxity and incompetence which let the nation "drift sternforemost into war," to warn against the theories of pacifism and internationalism which pervaded Washington as the struggle drew near its close. In almost his last public utterances he criticised the revealed tendencies in the Wilson peace and league doctrine—dared to appeal against the judgments of

the leader in a victorious war, adulated as the master statesman of the world.

Men see now that in all his career Roosevelt performed for his country and for mankind no greater service than during those final years, when he braved calumny to uphold the cause of justice against self-interest, reawakening the American soul that had been drugged by counsels of pacifism and internationalism. But for long he knew the pangs of estrangement from multitudes of his countrymen. Happily, he lived to see the tides of sentiment turn back toward him in full flow—to know that the party he had led and then had overthrown in defeat was looking hopefully for his leadership. Had he lived, he would have been named by acclamation as its candidate for the presidency; and his untimely death not only made this clear, but disclosed the magnitude and security of the fame that was to be his. Without hesitancy or reservation the American people paid tribute to his name as to the names of Washington and Lincoln, and the years which have passed have only emphasized the finality of that judgment.

How will history account of a verdict so swiftly formed and so universally indorsed? What was the outstanding quality or achievement that led the world unerringly to perceive in him the essential attributes of greatness?

For the prestige that enveloped him living, and the glamour that enshrines his memory, there have been explanations as varied as the facets of his many-sided genius. Many find it unnecessary to look beyond his unsurpassed services in public life. He left his mark as legislator and executive, leader and statesman. As President during seven years, he made America a power in world affairs and Americanism a doctrine mightier than fleets and armies. He settled an industrial controversy that threatened national disaster, and thereby established a principle which gave new security to law and new authority to government. He raised the level of public life and wrote a new chapter for the promotion of social justice and national welfare. He brought two warring Powers into a conference

of peace. He inspired and brought to completion the most stupendous work of engineering and international progress ever conceived. He dominated two national political parties and influenced the policies of a third more than any man in it. Through his leadership in the uprisings against invisible government and for the advancement of popular rule and human rights, the force gathering in incipient revolutions was turned into the channels of constructive progress. Immeasurable was his service in upholding democracy against bourbonism and radicalism; in promoting unity and fighting national cleavage based on race, section, creed, or class; in arousing the moral vigor of the nation; in reawakening its devotion to high ideals.

Yet the striking fact is that the mighty things he wrought for his country—the concrete, tangible products of his constructive genius—have only a subordinate part in the literature of eulogy that has gathered about his name; they are described as though they were mere illustrative expressions of his character. It is not Roosevelt the President, the soldier, the statesman, the builder, who is acclaimed as the greatest figure of his time. It is Roosevelt the man. His personality, his moral and spiritual power, his gifts of insight and leadership, his stainless integrity and his simple humanness, his unerring sympathies and his passion for justice—these and things like these are always emphasized. Men celebrate him not for what he did, but for what he was. The unique quality of his greatness is that he is greater than the things he achieved, which are the evidences of his greatness.

The more deeply the living and immortal force which was Theodore Roosevelt is studied, the more clear will be the revelation that his pre-eminence was due to the inspirational power which went out from him. It was this that made him the ablest leader of his time and the foremost citizen of the world. It was this, the despair of his enemies and a mystery even to many of his followers, that drew multitudes to him, that fired them with his idealism and devotion. And its su-

preme demonstration was not that he attained popularity, but that he changed lives. By sheer power of intellect, spirit, and soul he captivated not alone the masses that instinctively respond to inspired leadership, but men of masterful strength and influence; overcoming their antagonistic habits of thought due to training or association or self-interest, he uprooted their conceptions of moral values, their economic, social, and political convictions, and implanted his own. There is no other evidence of greatness comparable with this.

Fifteen years ago one of the outstanding men of Wall Street was George W. Perkins. A partner in the house of Morgan, he represented that philosophy of economics and government against which Roosevelt had contended in the governorship and the presidency. But his active mind led him to study the doctrines which were a challenge to his ideas, and he became an ardent follower of the Progressive leader. Believing that the cause was right, and that, moreover, the teachings of Roosevelt must prevail if the republic were to be preserved, he devoted the remaining years of his life to the promotion of these things.

William Flinn, one of the noted exponents of bossism in American politics, who wielded a power based upon machine rule and the spoils system, came under the influence of Roosevelt when the latter was a Civil Service Commissioner, and was his loyal supporter in the presidency. As a member of the State senate, this former Pittsburgh boss drafted and helped to put through an extensive programme of civic and social reform legislation, and for twenty years before his death was the strongest advocate of good causes in Pennsylvania. In 1912 his money, his tireless effort, and his political sagacity helped to carry the State for Roosevelt, and to his last days he was an ardent Progressive.

As the editor of a newspaper always sympathetic toward projects of civic and social betterment in Pennsylvania, I was acquainted for years with the men and women active in that field. After 1912 I became aware of a new figure—in every

important undertaking for the public welfare one was sure to come in contact with Edward W. Bok as a zealous worker. He had long been a resident of Philadelphia and had won conspicuous success as the editorial director of a great magazine, and it seemed strange that he had not been prominent in civic affairs. Inquiry revealed that he was a recent recruit, but left unexplained the reason for the awakening of his interest.

At a testimonial dinner given to him in 1916, to which he had been lured by stratagem, in a remarkable impromptu speech he told of his striking experience. After sketching his early career and its culmination of brilliant material achievement, he said he found himself at forty-five in possession of a substantial fortune and contentedly convinced of three things—that he had made a success of his life, that he was a good citizen, and that he was perfectly happy. But at about this time he became interested in the teachings of a man whom he had learned to admire. He read all that Theodore Roosevelt wrote and said, and talked with him repeatedly at the White House and at Oyster Bay. And there sank into his mind a realization of the truth that the getting of wealth was merely a preliminary to full living; that in service lay the only path to happiness. This was the inspiration of his activity in behalf of public welfare; whatever he had done or might do, he said, could be attributed to the influence of his friend and counsellor.

In the closing days of the 1912 campaign there was published a statement from George Wharton Pepper telling why he felt constrained to support Roosevelt for the presidency. The announcement caused no little surprise, for not only was Mr. Pepper known as a Republican regular, but he numbered among his clients powerful corporations, and was a leading member of the profession most antagonistic to Roosevelt's advocacy of a referendum on certain judicial decisions. Mr. Pepper declared himself, nevertheless, a convinced supporter of the Progressive cause and its candidate. Ten years later his abilities had raised him to a place of leadership in the United States Senate and the councils of the Republican party;

but he remained, and remains to this day, an ardent believer in the Roosevelt philosophy. With moving eloquence he revealed the depth and fervor of his faith at a great memorial meeting in Philadelphia on February 9, 1919:

"We as a people have sore need of Theodore Roosevelt. But not only collectively do we need him. We need him as individuals. When we look into our own hearts we find that we shall have sustained a personal loss if we suffer the Colonel to leave us. You and I need him as a factor in our daily lives. We have more energy when the Colonel is about. We are less content to submit to injustice, less appalled by obstacles in the path of progress. With the Colonel near we are far braver men and finer women. Where the Colonel leads we are sure of the direction in which we are moving. When he gives commands we are not in doubt about our objective. Happily, it will not be difficult to keep him with us. Theodore Roosevelt alive is easily conceived of; Theodore Roosevelt dead is altogether unthinkable. Such a man strengthens our belief in immortality. He has but gone to that front from which nobody would dare to hold him back. It is in our power to make him glad that for us he spent himself so freely. Let us try to be worthy of his welcome when we meet him again."

The attainment of a high place of prestige and power did not weaken, but rather intensified, the sense of moral and spiritual comradeship with the great leader. On October 27, 1922, at a memorial service in New York, Senator Pepper paid to him this moving tribute:

"The immortality of personal influence is God's greatest gift to man. I have a friend who seems to me the embodiment of those qualities whose sum is nobility. When conscience cowers, when advice proves powerless, when reason plays me false, his influence makes a man of me. I cannot cheat while he is in the game. I cannot drift when he is headed up-stream. I cannot talk nonsense when he is there to hear. . . . Dead? No. To-day we are rejoicing because Theodore Roosevelt has been born again. There is not a tinge

of sadness in our celebration. The immortality of his influence makes us glad with an exceeding great joy."

The testimonials of the men mentioned here are but striking illustrations of the manner in which Roosevelt took hold upon the imagination and the deepest convictions of those who came under the spell of his magnetic personality and dynamic power. This is why there is not a day in the year when his last resting-place is not visited by quiet folk who honored and loved him even though they might never have heard his voice or looked upon his face. This is why, on each anniversary of his death, the Roosevelt Pilgrimage assembles there—men and women gathered from distant parts of the country to renew their allegiance to the faith which is their heritage from him. For the supreme evidence of his greatness, the secret of his undiminished influence, is that he possessed the power to recreate himself in the lives of others.

TO

*ALL WHO IN THIS WAR HAVE PAID WITH THEIR
BODIES FOR THEIR SOULS' DESIRE*

FOREWORD

WE should accept from Germany what our allies have wrung from Austria and Turkey—unconditional surrender. This ought to be our war aim; and until this war aim is achieved the peace terms should be discussed only with our allies and not with our enemies.. In broad outline, it is possible now to state what these peace terms should include: Restitution by Germany of what she has taken and atonement for the wrong she has done; her complete military withdrawal from every foot of territory outside her own limits; and the giving not of “autonomy”—a slippery word used by slippery people to mean anything or nothing—but of complete independence to the races subject to the dominion of Germany, Austria, and Turkey (which means the creation of the free commonwealths of the Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, and Armenians, and therefore the expulsion of the Turk from Europe), the absolute freeing of Russia from the German stranglehold, and aid generously furnished by us to Russia, the retention by England and Japan of the colonies they have conquered, the restoration and indemnification of Belgium, the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the creating of a Jugo-Slav commonwealth, the joining to Italy of Italian Austria and to Roumania of Roumanian Hungary.

When the manuscript of this volume was turned in, and even up to the time of the revision of the last galley-proofs, it seemed that, as regards the major part of what is above set forth, I was taking substantially the position to which, after much hesitation, much indecision, and much talking every which way, the Administration was tending steadily to come. Apparently our government intended to fight the war through

to the peace of overwhelming victory. Then, without warning, and apparently without consultation with our allies, the President entered into a correspondence or negotiation about peace terms with Germany, which looked as if we had gotten back to the bad old days when note-writing and conversation were considered by Mr. Wilson as adroit and sufficient answers to the sinking of the *Lusitania* and similar German crimes. It was the attitude of an untrustworthy friend and an irresolute foe, and if accepted by the nation would have caused our people to forfeit their own self-respect and the respect of all other nations. However, the outburst of protest against the President's action was such that he promptly reversed himself again, and after having invited Germany's offer, repudiated it with indignation. We all trust that he will persevere in this attitude; but we do not profess any certainty of conviction in the matter.

The Germans, while they are conducting their military retreat with formidable efficiency, are carrying on an adroit peace offensive, designed to save Germany from wreck and leave her an unpunished menace to the future of the world. They hope to succeed by appealing to those leaders of the Allies (especially in the United States) who are infirm of purpose and wavering of will.

What is needed at this time is not the compounding of felony by the discussion of terms with the felons, but the concentration and speedy development of our whole strength so as to overwhelm Germany in battle and to dictate to her the peace of unconditional surrender.

Moreover, our people ought emphatically to repudiate the "fourteen points" offered by President Wilson as a satisfactory basis for peace. We ought likewise to repudiate all of his *similar* proposals (some of his utterances have been satisfactory, but all of these have been contradicted by his other utterances, and no one can be sure which set of utterances will receive his ultimate adherence). Some of these fourteen points are mischievous under any interpretation. Most of

them are worded in language so vague and so purely rhetorical that they may be construed with equal justice as having diametrically opposite meanings. Germany and Austria have eagerly approved these fourteen points; our own pro-Germans, pacifists, socialists, anarchists, and professional internationalists also approve them; but good citizens, who are also sound American nationalists, will insist upon all of them being put into straightforward and definite language—and then will reject most of them.

Under these conditions I do not know what action our government may now be secretly planning or what course it will follow even in the immediate future. But no matter what this action may be, the course of conduct advocated in this volume is in my judgment the only course that can with honor and safety be followed by the American people. Our present business is to fight, and to continue fighting until Germany is brought to her knees. Our next business will be to help guarantee the peace of justice for the world at large, and to set in order the affairs of our own household.

Most, but not all, of the material herein contained has appeared during the present year in *The Metropolitan Magazine*, in the *Kansas City Star*, in the *Philadelphia North American*, in the *New York Tribune*, and in certain speeches.

Four years ago, in the articles which soon afterward were gathered into book-form under the title of "America and the World War," I wrote:

"The great danger to peace, so far as this country is concerned, arises from such pacifists as those who have made and applauded our recent all-inclusive arbitration treaties. . . . These persons may succeed in impressing foreign nations with the belief that they represent our people . . . (if so, there will follow) long-drawn war. . . . It is those among us who would go to the front in such event—as . . . my four sons would go—who are the really far-sighted and earnest friends

of peace. We desire measures taken in the real interest of peace, because we who at need would fight, but who earnestly hope never to be forced to fight, have most at stake in keeping peace. . . . In such a war the prime fact to be remembered is that the men really responsible for it would not be those who would pay the penalty. The ultrapacifists are rarely men who go to battle. Their fault or their folly would be expiated by the blood of countless thousands of plain and decent American citizens."

Events have made good precisely what I thus wrote. The leading pacifists of four years ago, and their sons and sons-in-law, are rarely to be found in the fighting line at the front. It is the men who then advocated preparedness who now pay for the failure to prepare and for the folly of some of our leaders, and the political unscrupulousness of others.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

SAGAMORE HILL,
November 6, 1918.

THE GREAT ADVENTURE

PRESENT-DAY STUDIES IN AMERICAN NATIONALISM

THE GREAT ADVENTURE

ONLY those are fit to live who do not fear to die; and none are fit to die who have shrunk from the joy of life and the duty of life. Both life and death are parts of the same Great Adventure. Never yet was worthy adventure worthily carried through by the man who put his personal safety first. Never yet was a country worth living in unless its sons and daughters were of that stern stuff which bade them die for it at need; and never yet was a country worth dying for unless its sons and daughters thought of life not as something concerned only with the selfish evanescence of the individual, but as a link in the great chain of creation and causation, so that each person is seen in his true relations as an essential part of the whole, whose life must be made to serve the larger and continuing life of the whole. Therefore it is that the man who is not willing to die, and the woman who is not willing to send her man to die, in a war for a great cause, are not worthy to live. Therefore it is that the man and woman who in peace-time fear or ignore the primary and vital duties and the high happiness of family life, who dare not beget and bear and rear the life that is to last when they are in their graves, have broken the chain of creation, and have shown that they are unfit for companionship with the souls ready for the Great Adventure.

The wife of a fighting soldier at the front recently wrote as follows to the mother of a gallant boy, who at the front had fought in high air like an eagle, and, like an eagle, fighting had died:

"I write these few lines—not of condolence, for who would dare to pity you?—but of deepest sympathy to you and yours as you stand in the shadow which is the earthly side of those clouds of glory in which your son's life has just passed. Many will envy you that when the call to sacrifice came you were not found among the paupers to whom no gift of life worth offering had been intrusted. They are the ones to be pitied, not we whose dearest are jeopardizing their lives unto the death in the high places of the field. I hope my two sons will live as worthily and die as greatly as yours."

There spoke one dauntless soul to another! America is safe while her daughters are of this kind; for their lovers and their sons cannot fail, as long as beside the hearthstones stand such wives and mothers. And we have many, many such women; and their men are like unto them.

With all my heart I believe in the joy of living; but those who achieve it do not seek it as an end in itself, but as a seized and prized incident of hard work well done and of risk and danger never wantonly courted, but never shirked when duty commands that they be faced. And those who have earned joy, but are rewarded only with sorrow, must learn the stern comfort dear to great souls, the comfort that springs from the knowledge taught in times of iron that the law of worthy living is not fulfilled by pleasure, but by service, and by sacrifice when only thereby can service be rendered.

No nation can be great unless its sons and daughters have in them the quality to rise level to the needs of heroic days. Yet this heroic quality is but the apex of a pyramid of which the broad foundations must solidly rest on the performance of duties so ordinary that to impatient minds they seem commonplace. No army was ever great unless its soldiers possessed the fighting edge. But the finest natural fighting edge is utterly useless unless the soldiers and the junior officers have been through months, and the officers of higher command and the general staff through years, of hard, weary, intensive training. So likewise the citizenship of any country is worth-

less unless in a crisis it shows the spirit of the two million Americans who in this mighty war have eagerly come forward to serve under the Banner of the Stars, afloat and ashore, and of the other millions who would now be beside them overseas if the chance had been given them; and yet such spirit will in the long run avail nothing unless in the years of peace the average man and average woman of the duty-performing type realize that the highest of all duties, the one essential duty, is the duty of perpetuating the family life, based on the mutual love and respect of the one man and the one woman, and on their purpose to rear the healthy and fine-souled children whose coming into life means that the family and, therefore, the nation shall continue in life and shall not end in a sterile death.

Woe to those who invite a sterile death; a death not for them only, but for the race; the death which is insured by a life of sterile selfishness.

But honor, highest honor, to those who fearlessly face death for a good cause; no life is so honorable or so fruitful as such a death. Unless men are willing to fight and die for great ideals, including love of country, ideals will vanish, and the world will become one huge sty of materialism. And unless the women of ideals bring forth the men who are ready thus to live and die, the world of the future will be filled by the spawn of the unfit. Alone of human beings the good and wise mother stands on a plane of equal honor with the bravest soldier; for she has gladly gone down to the brink of the chasm of darkness to bring back the children in whose hands rests the future of the years. But the mother, and far more the father who flinch from the vital task earn the scorn visited on the soldier who flinches in battle. And the nation should by action mark its attitude alike toward the fighter in war and toward the child-bearer in peace and war. The vital need of the nation is that its men and women of the future shall be the sons and daughters of the soldiers of the present. Excuse no man from going to war because he is married; but put all unmarried

men above a fixed age at the hardest and most dangerous tasks; and provide amply for the children of soldiers, so as to give their wives the assurance of material safety.

In such a matter one can only speak in general terms. At this moment there are hundreds of thousands of gallant men eating out their hearts because the privilege of facing death in battle is denied them. So there are innumerable women and men whose undeserved misfortune it is that they have no children or but one child. These soldiers denied the perilous honor they seek, these men and women heart-hungry for the children of their longing dreams, are as worthy of honor as the men who are warriors in fact, as the women whose children are of flesh and blood. If the only son who is killed at the front has no brother because his parents coldly dreaded to play their part in the Great Adventure of Life, then our sorrow is not for them, but solely for the son who himself dared the Great Adventure of Death. If, however, he is the only son because the Unseen Powers denied others to the love of his father and mother, then we mourn doubly with them because their darling went up to the sword of Azrael, because he drank the dark drink proffered by the Death Angel.

In America to-day all our people are summoned to service and sacrifice. Pride is the portion only of those who know bitter sorrow or the foreboding of bitter sorrow. But all of us who give service, and stand ready for sacrifice, are the torch-bearers. We run with the torches until we fall, content if we can then pass them to the hands of other runners. The torches whose flame is brightest are borne by the gallant men at the front, and by the gallant women whose husbands and lovers, whose sons and brothers are at the front. These men are high of soul, as they face their fate on the shell-shattered earth, or in the skies above or in the waters beneath; and no less high of soul are the women with torn hearts and shining eyes; the girls whose boy-lovers have been struck down in their golden morning, and the mothers and wives to whom

word has been brought that henceforth they must walk in the shadow.

These are the torch-bearers; these are they who have dared the Great Adventure.

THE MEN WHO PAY WITH THEIR BODIES FOR THEIR SOULS' DESIRE

IN a great war for the right the one great debt owed by the nation is that to the men who go to the front and pay with their bodies for the faith that is in them. At the front there are of course of necessity a few men who, from the nature of the case, are not in positions of great danger—as regards the staff and the high command, the burden of crushing responsibility borne by such men outweighs danger. But as a rule the men who do the great work for the nation are the men who, for a money payment infinitely less than what they would earn in civil life, face terrible risk and endure indescribable hardship and fatigue and misery at the front. These men include the air fighters, who run the greatest risk of all; and the fighting foot-sluggers, the infantry—the “dough-boys”—and the marines, and the machine-gun men, who take the terrible punishment when the tremendous thrusts are made; and the engineers and the men in the tanks and the men with the field-guns and the heavier guns, and the men who manage the gas—the work of all of whom is absolutely indispensable and who do it in hourly peril of their lives; and the doctors and stretcher-bearers who suffer the same dangers as the men to whom they bring succor; and the men who bring up the munition-trains—in short, all who under fire join in the exhausting and perilous labor which brings victory. These are the real heroes. These are the men who do the one great and indispensable task which entitles them forever to be honored by all true Americans.

The rest of us behind the lines are merely supplementing

their work. I have no patience with the well-meaning, silly persons who now and then announce that "saving will win the war" or that "money will win the war" or that "food will win the war." Let these good persons speak the truth and say that Liberty Bonds and Thrift Savings Stamps and the production of food and munitions and the practice of economy and the work done through organizations like the Red Cross will all help to win the war and are indispensable. But the war will be won by the fighting men at the front! Every other activity in this nation is merely auxiliary to theirs.

From General Pershing down the men of our army overseas have won for themselves deathless fame and have reflected the highest honor upon this nation. I know personally of division, brigade, and regimental commanders who, in addition to high valor, have shown an efficiency which puts them on a level with the very best men of their rank in any service in the world—I do not mention their names, merely because to do so would probably do an injustice to others equally good about whom I do not know. As for the battalion and company and platoon officers and non-commissioned officers and rank and file, I do not think it is untruthful or exaggerated to say that on the whole when our troops have finished their training they stand a little above the average of any other army in the world to-day. The seven or eight American divisions who did the murderous fighting in July and August during Foch's great counter-offensive established a record such as only the few very finest troops of any other army could equal, and which could not be surpassed. Probably in our own history nothing has ever quite come up to it, save in certain actions during the Civil War. The endurance, the valor, the efficiency, the fighting edge of these men could not be surpassed. Their losses correspond to their achievements. (In the infantry regiment in which two of my sons served, the colonel, the lieutenant-colonel, the three majors, and almost all the captains and lieutenants were killed or wounded; and the loss was proportionally almost as great among the enlisted

men.) In addition to these divisions there were two or three times as many other divisions, across the seas or about to cross the seas, who were composed of as fine fighting material, and who by this time are probably as efficient, but who had not at that period been sufficiently trained to do the heaviest assault work. But they have been trained now; Pershing's army began its great thrust, as a separate army, about a year and a half after we entered the war. The actual management of our oversea army work is now excellent; and the quality of our troops is really extraordinary.

The noted French sociologist Gustave Le Bon writes me:

"My compatriots have discovered an America of which they had no idea. In addition to the heroism of her soldiers she has revealed aptitudes for scientific method and organization, the fruits of her education, which have awakened our admiration. Harbors, railroads, factories rise as if by magic. Every one asks how such men were trained and instructed."

Our men include Americans from every section of the country and from every walk of life. The son of the railroad president and the son of the brakeman, the college graduate and the man who left a plough-tail at the end of the furrow, or threw down his pick and shovel or his axe and saw, all stand on the same plane, and do the same work and face and meet the same dangers. The son of the wealthy man who has been reared softly, and the son of the man who has every day eaten his bread in the sweat of his brow, look death in the eyes with the same stern courage and do their hard grinding work with the same grim efficiency. In the intervals of work they are light-hearted and they enjoy themselves greatly, snatching the pleasures with an added zest, because peril is so very near. Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, men of old native American stock, and men whose parents were born abroad or who themselves were born abroad—no distinction whatever can be made among them as they do their allotted tasks.

The moods in which they have accomplished these tasks vary

as widely as the tasks themselves. But the work is well done, whether inspired by matter-of-fact acceptance of the fact that the United States is at war and that therefore it is up to the men of fighting age to do the fighting men's job; or by the exalted idealism of the young Galahad whose eyes are open to the shining visions shrouded from duller sight—and the young Galahads of this Great War when they have found the grail have too often filled it with their own hearts' blood.

Some have been driven by a sense of duty to do the best there was in them in a task for which they have no natural desire. Others eagerly welcome the chance to sweep straight as a falcon at the quarry which may be death; and these may come back with broken wings; or they may never come back, and word may be brought to the women who weep that they must walk henceforth in the shadow. But all alike have done their duty and more than their duty; and their souls shall stand forever in the glory of the morning; and all who dwell in this land now, or who shall dwell in it in the future, owe to them a debt that can never be cancelled.

And the first instalment of payment on this debt should be paid by the government to the wives and children and dependent mothers left by the man who goes to the front. The wife who cheers him when he goes, and the children whom he leaves behind when he goes, should be amply provided for as a matter of mere justice. I believe that the State should in some way endow motherhood anyhow; but there can be no question of our duty toward the mother of the children whose father has left her and them to go to war.

We are fighting for our dearest rights. We are also fighting for the rights of all peoples, small or great, so long as they are well-behaved and do not wrong others, to enjoy their liberty and govern themselves in the forms they see fit to adopt. We intend to try to help others, but we know well that we cannot do so unless we are able to do justice within our own borders, and to manage well the affairs of our own house-

hold. Therefore it behooves us, even now while we are bending all our energies to winning the Great War, also to look to the future, and to begin to ponder the things that we must do to bring greater happiness and well-being and a higher standard of conduct and character within our own borders when once the war is through.

Surely all of us—and especially those of us who stay at home and who are denied the opportunity to go to the front—ought to realize the need in this country of a loftier idealism than we have had in the past; and the further and even greater need that we should in actual practice live up to the ideals we profess. The things of the body have a rightful place and a great place. But the things of the soul should have an even greater place. There has been in the past in this country far too much of that gross materialism which, in the end, eats like an acid into all the finer qualities of our souls.

The war came—our gross ideals were shattered and the scales fell from our eyes, and we saw things as they really were. Suddenly in the awful presence of death we grew to understand the true values of life. We realized that only those men were fit to live who were not afraid to die; that although death was a terrible thing, yet that there were other things that were more terrible, other things that made life not worth living. All the finest of our young men, all those high of soul, responded eagerly to the call to arms; the son of the rich man and the son of the poor man, side by side, neither claiming any favor except the chance to win honor and perform duty in the face of deadly peril. These men who have been going, and are going abroad by the million, are sacrificing everything for the sake of a great ideal. They have shown their willingness to sacrifice money and ease and pleasure, and life itself when duty calls, and the nation bids them go. Let us who are left behind in our turn strive to make our lives a little nearer the right ideal. Let us introduce into the work of peace something of the spirit that they have introduced into the work of war. When these men come home, or at least when those

of them who escape death come home, I believe that they will demand, and I know that they ought to demand, a juster type of life, socially and industrially, in this country. I believe, and I hope, that they will demand a loftier idealism in both our public and private affairs, and better and more common-sense methods of reducing our ideals to practice and making them realizable. I believe that they will themselves show both idealism and also that common sense the lack of which insures disaster in peace as in war. I think they will insist upon a livelier sense of brotherhood and yet will no less insist upon the duty of recognizing leadership. Our aim must be to raise the level of the tableland of general opportunity and welfare without lowering the peaks of high achievement. Let the difference of reward be as great as that between our generals and admirals, such as Pershing and Sims, and the warrant officers or senior non-commissioned officers under them. But let there be a better proportion than is now the case in industrial life, between the service rendered and the reward given. Gradually I hope to see the wage-worker become in a real sense a partner in the enterprise in which he works; and to achieve this end he must develop the power of self-control, the power of recognizing the rights of others no less than insisting upon his own; he must develop common sense; and that strength of character which cannot be conferred from without, and the lack of which renders everything else of no avail. Above all, I wish to see the farmers develop their strength by co-operation and in other ways, so that the elemental work of the soil will resume its ancient importance among us.

At this moment we can only lay the foundation in outline; but there are certain things that we should do at once in connection with the war. One of them is to stop all profiteering by capitalists; and another is to stop all slacking and loafing, whether by individual workmen or as a result of union action. Of these two perhaps the profiteer is worse; but the slacker is almost as bad. As for the profiteer, any man who makes

a fortune out of this war ought to be held up to derision and scorn. No man should come out of this war materially ahead of what he was when we went into it. There must be the reward for capital necessary in order to make it profitable to do the necessary work, and to cover the necessary risks; this is indispensable, and the government should see that neither demagoguery nor ignorance interferes with this necessary reward. But we heartily approve, as a war measure, of heavy progressive taxation of all profits, beyond the reasonable profits necessary for the continuance of industry, and our governmental authorities would do well to see whether it is not possible to put a tax on unused land. Most of our captains of finance are doing with all their energy necessary governmental work without any financial reward for themselves. I honor these men, I honor their sons who have gone to the war. But I have scant patience with the other men who treat the war merely as a chance for profit; and I have least patience with the rich men who keep their sons at home. I will not excuse the poor man from going to war; but I would make it obligatory on the man who has much. As for the profiteer, if I could get at him I would like to put him to digging the front trenches. And I would put beside him his brother in wrong-doing, the slacker or loafer, the man who limits the output, when it is necessary at this time that we should have the greatest possible production; and I would do this whether he was acting as an individual, or as an official or member of a labor-union. Pershing's men are not limiting their output, and shame and disgrace should be the portion of any man who limits his output here at home.

I believe that when this war is over we should prepare for our self-defense against other nations, and I believe that we should prepare for our own inner development. And in order to meet both needs, I believe in the principle of universal service. Of this military service is but a part. It is a vital part, and under no circumstances can we neglect it. But it is only a part. Universal suffrage can be justified only by uni-

versal service, service in peace and service in war. The man who will not render this service has no right to the vote. If he won't fight for the country in war and do his duty by the country in peace, we ought not to permit him to vote in the country. The conscientious objector who won't serve as a soldier or won't pay his taxes has no place in a republic like ours, and should be expelled from it, for no man who won't pull his weight in the boat has a right in the boat. The Society of Friends have come forward in this war just as gallantly as they came forward in the Civil War, and all true believers in peace will do well to follow their example.

We now have an approach to the universal service which some of us have for many years been demanding. We now have all men from eighteen to forty-five required to serve their country, and required to register. Let us make this system permanent, and let us use it for the purposes of peace no less than for the purposes of war. Let us extend the principle to women no less than to men. Let us base suffrage on service. Let us demand the service from women as we do from men, and in return give the suffrage to all men and women who in peace and war perform the service, and to no others. Base suffrage on service and not on sex. Treat it not as an unearned privilege but as a duty which each of us is to perform in a spirit of service to all of us and as a right which is not to be enjoyed unless the person enjoying it does his or her full duty in peace and war.

Universal training is a prerequisite for efficient universal service. It is just as much a prerequisite for efficient service in war as for efficient service in peace. It is just as much a prerequisite for women as for men. At this moment we have embodied in law the principle of universal military service for men, but inasmuch as there has never been universal obligatory military training for the service, we now have to do all this training during the war itself. In consequence we were not able to exert any considerable fraction of our man-power until over a year after we went to war; and over two years

will have elapsed before the proportion of our strength thus actually usable and used will be anywhere near as great as the proportion of the French, English, or Italian strength thus used. This means that during the first year of the war we would have been absolutely helpless, and during the first year and a half almost helpless, against our antagonists if we had not been protected by the armies and navies of our allies. In other words, while we were hardening our unprepared and helpless strength, and making it ready, we were saved from the strength and fury of our enemy only by the strength and valor of our allies. We now have universal military service. If four years ago we had had universal military training, so that the service would have been immediately efficient when called for, the war would have been over within ninety days from the time we entered it, and infinite bloodshed and treasure would have been spared. Next time we may not have allies to protect us! And even if we do have allies, let us remember that our latent strength is such that if we prepare it in advance the chances are strong for our imposing an almost immediate peace in any conflict into which we are obliged to enter; whereas if we do not prepare it in advance we are doomed to impotence in any war unless we have allies who protect us during the year or two we spend in hurried and extravagant effort to do what we ought to have already done.

I am not advocating Prussian militarism. I am advocating the kind of democratic preparedness which Switzerland has developed to her own great advantage socially and economically, and with the result of keeping war out of her borders. Let us profit by our own experience of the last year. Our training-camps have been universities of applied Americanism. For every young man between the ages of eighteen and twenty to have six months in such a camp, which would include, of course, some field service, would be of incalculable benefit to him, and of like benefit to the nation. It would teach him self-reliance, self-respect, mutuality of respect between himself and others, the power to command and the power to obey; it

would teach him habits of cleanliness and order and the power of co-operation, and above all, devotion to the flag, the ideal of country. It would make him a soldier immediately fit for defensive work, and readily to be turned into a soldier fit for offensive work if, as in the present war, offense prove the only method of real defense. Every such man, after his experience in the camp, would tend to be a better citizen and would tend to do his own work for himself and his family better and with more efficient result. His experience would help him in material matters and at the same time would teach him to put certain great spiritual ideals in the foremost place.

Incidentally, we ought to change the draft rules, so far as giving any special privileges to the young fellows between eighteen and twenty in the matter of college training, to fit them to be officers. To say that the nation will pay for all of them to go to college is a deception, and to believe it is a delusion. I do not believe in a selective draft for a favored class. I wish to see fair play for the workman's son who has not had the chance to learn so that he can go to college, but who has the natural ability to command and lead men. Only boys whose parents in the past have had the money to give them a special education can enter college at the present time, and it is unfair to the other boys to give these a special advantage. Let all go into the ranks together and after six months or a year of service let the best men be chosen out to enter the schools which will fit them to be officers. Of course, with the older men and at the beginning, we had to take those already available. But when we come to need the young fellows under twenty-one, let every man enter the ranks and stand on a fair footing with every one else, and be given promotion on his merits. Hitherto the men who came in under twenty-one, came in as volunteers, and they were entitled to try for any position they could get; but now we have at last done what we ought to have done in the beginning. Now let them all stand alike.

Therefore, I hope that now we shall make the system of uni-

versal military service and military training which we have introduced permanent, although, of course, in modified form. But I would not stop here. I would use the registration of all our men as a basis for further development for training and service in the duties of peace. I would register the young women just as much as the young men. I would give them both certain fundamental forms of industrial training—training in the things that are fundamental in the ordinary work of the ordinary man and woman in their business occupations and in and around their home; in the things which it is good for every man and every woman to know. I mean certain forms of manual labor and mechanical labor for men, and certain forms of household work and work outside of the house for women. The teaching in the schools should be only in English; in this country there is room for but one flag and for but one language. I believe in education. I believe in giving it free to every man and every woman, because I don't think we can have a successful democracy unless it is an educated one. I believe in making it obligatory so far as primary education is concerned, and I believe in making it possible for every man or woman who really desires it to have a higher education, but that this shall be permissive and not obligatory. Moreover, I believe that the education shall be an education not only of the mind but also of the soul and the body. I think we should educate men and women toward and not away from what is to be their life-work—toward the home, toward the farm, toward the shop, and not away from them. I would use the introduction of a system of universal training and service as a means for securing this education.

I mention education only as one of the aims we ought to have in view in connection with universal training of our citizenship for service. There are very many lines of endeavor in such an effort of constructive statesmanship; for construction and not destruction should be the key-note of our policy at this time. Our educational system should deal especially with all immigrants; and a peculiarly important branch of it

at the present time ought to be the training of the disabled and the crippled returning soldiers, so that they may become, not objects of charity, but self-supporting citizens. We should develop the water-powers under the government, keeping ownership in the public, and preventing the pollution of interstate streams. We should begin at once to take thought for the soldiers when they return; to develop national employment agencies for the redistribution of men after the war. We should enter on a course of taxation, purchase, and development of land so as to give to the returned soldier who is fit for it the chance to do the most vital of all works, to till the soil on the farm which he himself owns; and we can treat this as a stepping-stone to further study of and action concerning country life and farm production, so as to promote the growth and prosperity of the farmers who work hard on their own land. We must prepare our shipping for times of peace, and prepare to deal with the foreign-markets situation, as part of our programme of wise universal service; and, what is even more important, we must deal on a national scale with factory and industrial conditions; with city and country housing conditions; with child labor; and with old age, health and unemployment insurance for workers.

THIS IS THE PEOPLE'S WAR; PUT IT THROUGH

THIS is the people's war. It is not the President's war. It is not Congress's war. It is America's war. We are in honor bound in conducting it to stand by every official who does well, and against every official who fails to do well. Any other attitude is servile and unworthy of an American freeman.

In the papers ten months ago there appeared a brief statement made by an unnamed young American major to his troops in the trenches in France. He said:

"We have reached the top in training. If you need anything come and tell me and I will get it for you if I can. If I do not get it I do not want to hear about it again, for it means that I cannot get it. We will have three meals a day if we can get them. If we have to miss one meal we will not be badly off, and if we miss two or three it will not be much worse. We are expected to work from midnight of one day to midnight of the next day. If there is any chance to sleep between, all right. It will also be all right if there is no chance. Let everybody pitch in. While mud and water must be fought it may be much worse. The hopes of the nation are fixed on each man."

The ideal of duty thus set before our soldiers, before the Americans who at this time risk most and suffer most, is substantially the ideal of duty toward which all of the rest of us here in America should, in our turn, likewise strive. We must brace ourselves for effort and for endurance through a hard and dangerous year. High of heart and with unfaltering soul, we must do our part in the grim work of toiling and

fighting to bring a little nearer the day when there shall be orderly liberty throughout the world, and when justice and mercy and brotherly love shall obtain between man and man and among all the nations of mankind. We must show our faith by our works. We must prove our truth by our endeavor. We must scorn the baseness which uses high-sounding speech to cloak ignoble action, and which seeks to betray suffering right with the Judas kiss of a treacherous peace.

Henceforth we at home will suffer some discomfort, a little unimportant privation and much wearing anxiety. What of it? What we at home endure will be as nothing compared to that which is faced by the sons and brothers, by the husbands and fathers at the front; and what the fighting men of to-day face and bear will be no harder than what was faced and borne by Washington's troops at Valley Forge and Trenton, and by the soldiers of Grant and Lee when they wrestled in the Wilderness. We inherit as freemen this far and mighty land only because our fathers and forefathers had iron in their blood. We can leave our heritage undiminished to those who come after us only if we in our turn show a resolute and rugged manliness in the dark days of trial that have come upon us.

Let us all, individually and collectively, do our whole duty with brave hearts. Let us pay our taxes, subscribe to the government loans, work at our several tasks with all our strength, support all the agencies which take care of our troops and accept the stinting in fuel or food as part of the price we pay. Let our prime care be the welfare and warlike efficiency of the men at the front and in the training-camps. Let us hold to sharp account every public servant who, in any way, comes short of his duty in this respect. But let us also insist that the soldiers at the front and in the camps treat every shortcoming merely as an obstacle to be overcome or remedied or offset by their own energy and courage and resourcefulness. The one absolute essential for our people is to insist that this war be seen through at no matter what cost,

until it is crowned with the peace of overwhelming victory for the right.

There are foolish persons who still say we ought to make peace now, a negotiated peace, and then be good friends with Germany. These persons with all the lessons of the last four years fresh in their minds still cling pathetically to the belief that if only we will show that we are harmless Germany will begin to love us.

As a matter of fact, the German hatred of America grew to be a positive obsession during the two and a half years of our ignoble and cold-blooded neutrality, when we submitted feebly to all the German wrongdoing. Let the foolish persons who doubt this read the books written by Mr. Gerard, our ambassador at Berlin, and the book written by Mr. Gibson, secretary of our legation at Brussels. Still better let them read the articles by Mr. Curtis Roth, until recently vice-consul at Plauen, Saxony.

These writings show the extent of the hatred with which Germany regards America, a hatred which blossomed into full growth before we went to war, and which was immensely aggravated because of the contempt inspired by our tame submission to outrage for over two years. Mr. Roth's testimony is peculiarly interesting. He shows that Berlin actively stimulated the campaign of hatred and revenge against America, that the German people accepted the view that Americans were cowardly, avaricious, and effeminate, that they singled out for hatred the German-Americans beyond all other American citizens, and that in Germany it was constantly announced that sooner or later there would be a day of reckoning when America would have to pay a huge indemnity or suffer the fate of Belgium. Mr. Roth shows that the German people think exactly as their leaders think and that they now hate and despise us Americans as they hate no others of their foes, not even the English. Says Mr. Roth: "They resolved to make our country drink to the depths out of the bitter cup of humiliation." Nothing do they find more despicable than our talk

about peace, which they attributed to cowardice and flabbiness. They look on the American pacifist as a weakling and as a God-given tool in the hands of German interests.

Ambassador Gerard reported the German state of mind again and again; in October, 1915, he specifically reported the Kaiser's threat to stand no nonsense from America, and exact full payment from her; but President Wilson kept the American people ignorant of the facts, and unprepared to defend their rights. In practice President Wilson holds to secret diplomacy, to secretive and furtive diplomacy, with a tenacity as marked as the fluency with which in theory he champions its abolition.

All Americans who were both thoroughly patriotic and well-informed lifted their heads with pride when at last this nation did what it would have been infinitely better to have done two years previously—when at last it went to war. There were well-meaning men who had been misled as to our duty, or who lacked vision, and who in consequence were even at that time against our going into the war. But the great majority of these men are now as patriotic as any one else; and all patriotic and far-sighted Americans must now sternly insist that the war be carried through to a completely victorious conclusion, at no matter what cost of blood and treasure, and no matter how long the time. All those who now ask for an indecisive peace, all who now assail our allies or directly or indirectly apologize for or give aid and comfort to Germany, all who do not insist upon the utmost speed and thorough efficiency in the conduct of the war, are false to America and false to all the liberty-loving nations of mankind.

Germany respects only force. She rightly considers the sentimentality (I am not talking of sentiment) which clamors for peace without punishing her brutality and perfidy, as a mere cloak for cowardice and lazy weakness. Every man in this country who now advocates Germany's cause, whether directly or indirectly, or who demands a negotiated, inconclusive peace without victory, is not only treacherously false to this country, but is earning Germany's utter derision for himself and

for our country in so far as it is influenced by him. Mr. Roth sums up by saying that "the average German hates this country to-day with a hatred far more venomous, far more implacable, far more unreasoning than the hatred he has visited upon any other people." Remember that this hatred has come upon us because for two years and a half we were neutral, because by failing to stand up for our own rights we lost the respect of Germany, because by our failing to prepare we incurred her utter contempt, because she despised and despises us for our weakness in dealing with the pro-Germans here at home. There is but one way to gain the respect of the Prussianized, militarist, and autocratic Germany of the Hohenzollerns, and that is by beating her to her knees. And in order to beat her as thoroughly and speedily as possible we should treat with drastic severity the Hun within our own gates.

BROOMSTICK PREPAREDNESS

A STUDY of the American army for the year succeeding our entry into the war is a study of the effects of broomstick preparedness. All who defend this type of preparedness are themselves, however amicable and well-meaning, broomstick apologists.

Over eighteen months have now passed since we admitted that we were at war, and over twenty months since the Germans frankly began war upon us. With our immense manpower, wealth, and resources, the natural fighting qualities of our men and the business energy and the mechanical efficiency of our people, we have now developed a force that has made us a highly important factor in the war. Seventeen months after we entered the war we at last had a sufficiency of well-trained troops to enable General Pershing for the first time to take part in the war with a separate army, an army such as the French had and the English had. But this army was still very small in size, compared to either the French or British armies. Moreover it was able to act only because it had obtained from our allies the cannon, airplanes, tanks, machine-guns, and the gas necessary in modern warfare. Without what we have thus obtained from our allies we would have been absolutely helpless. But the gallantry and fighting efficiency of our men, and the fact that several hundred thousand are now fit for use at the front, have made us already of very real weight against the Germans, for when the scales are almost trembling in the balance a relatively small weight of effort will determine the outcome. Therefore, the large number of well-meaning persons who are very forgetful, and who like

to tickle their vanity by refusing to face what is unpleasant, tend already to say that our unpreparedness did not amount to anything after all, and that all things are all right, and that nobody must speak about the wrongs of the past. For this reason it is essential that our people should know just what our shortcomings were.

We cannot learn about these shortcomings from military officers. The Administration by its treatment of General Wood has rendered it a work of the highest danger for any American army officer to tell the truth that ought to be told. General Wood, two years before we went into the war, and again one year before we went into the war, appeared before the congressional military committees and set forth our needs. When at the end of last winter he returned from his stay in France, he told us what ought at once to be done. The Administration in every case refused to profit by what he had testified, and yet in every case the events have made good everything he said. It is to General Wood that we owe primarily the Plattsburg officers' training-camps in 1915 and 1916. These Plattsburg training-camps did a work that cannot be overestimated, in providing officers; and it was the one really effective bit of preparation on our part. All that General Wood thus advised and thus did was of the very highest value to the country. Instead of rewarding him for it, the Administration has punished him in the way hardest to bear for a gallant and patriotic soldier. This has represented not only a cruel injustice to him, but a deeply unpatriotic refusal to meet the country's needs.

Therefore, I am not at liberty to quote the first-hand testimony I have had as to some of the vital shortcomings in the administration of the War Department and the army during the first eighteen months of the war.

But in the camps I visited I saw some things so evident that no harm can come to any officer from my speaking of them; and there are some things which are now matters of

common knowledge, although the War Department did everything it could to keep them from the knowledge of the people.

In the fall of 1917 the enormous majority of our men in the encampments were drilling with broomsticks or else with rudely whittled guns. As late as the beginning of December they had in the camps almost only wooden machine-guns and wooden field-cannon. In the camps I saw barrels mounted on sticks on which zealous captains were endeavoring to teach their men how to ride a horse. At that time we had one or two divisions of well-trained infantry in France—which would have been simply lapped up if placed against the army of any formidable military power. At that time, eight months after we had gone to war, the army we had gathered in the cantonments had neither the rifles, the machine-guns, the cannon, the tanks, nor the airplanes which would have enabled them to make any fight at all against any army of any military power that could have landed on our shores. It would have been as helpless against an invading army as so many savages armed with stone-headed axes. We were wholly unable to defend ourselves a year after we had gone to war. We owed our safety only to the English, French, and Italian fleets and armies.

The cause was our refusal to prepare in advance. President Wilson's message of December, 1914, in which he ridiculed those who advocated preparedness, was part of the cause. His presidential campaign, in 1916, on the "he kept us out of war" issue was part of the cause. We paid the price later with broomstick rifles, logwood cannon, soldiers without shoes, and epidemics of pneumonia in the camps. We are paying the price now in shortage of coal and congestion of transportation, and in the double cost of necessary war-supplies. We are paying the price and shall pay the price in the shape of taxes and a national debt at least twice as large as would have been the case if with forethought and wisdom we had prepared in advance. We have paid the price in the blood of tens of thousands of gallant men. The refusal to prepare, and the

price we now pay because of the refusal, stand in the relation of cause and effect.

I do not dwell on these facts to blame anybody. I dwell on them in order to wake our people to the necessity of learning the lesson they teach. In order to speed up the war it is absolutely necessary to tell the truth. Until Senator Chamberlain's Committee on Military Affairs made its investigation there was no change for the better in the work of the War Department. Until Senator Thomas's subcommittee investigated the airplane situation, the American people were kept in complete ignorance of the utter breakdown of our air programme. Primarily this condition was due to the policy of unpreparedness to which the Administration adhered during the two and a half years, when even the blindest ought to have read the lesson being taught by the Great War. Since the war broke out the Administration has been guilty of numerous delays, of the appointment and retention of inefficient men, and of many kinds of half-heartedness in waging the war. These have all caused much damage. But the prime cause was the failure to prepare in advance.

The attitude of the War Department during the first months of the war was shown by the remark of one of the high officials to the effect that the delay of a few months was "a perfectly endurable delay." This remark was made with all the complacency of the butterfly on the fence to the toad under the harrow. Others paid with their blood for our delay. The German submarine note came on January 31, 1917; and within the next two months an alert and efficient War Department would have had every particle of its programme minutely mapped out and well on the way to execution. As a matter of fact, nothing was really begun until late in August. Six months can be treated as "a perfectly endurable delay" only if we are content to accept the speed standards in war of Tiglath-Pileser and Pharaoh Nechoh. But the United States cannot afford to accept the war speed standards of the seventh century B. C., instead of those of the twentieth century

A. D. There is not the slightest use of trying to justify or excuse broomstick preparedness.

I have before me a letter from a line major of Marines, describing the terrible fighting in which the Marines took part last July. I quote the following sentences:

"The German planes were thick in the air; they were in groups of from three to twenty. They would look us over and then we would soon get a pounding from their bombs. I heard men cussing as to where our one billion dollars worth of planes were. We did not see them."

I also have before me a letter from an aviation major, written from another part of the front two months later, in the beginning of September. It runs in part as follows:

"We still keep wondering when we are going to see the results of America's quantity efforts in aviation. Things are much better here now, but it is entirely thanks to the French. The Liberty engine has not begun to show up in quantity yet, at any rate at the front."

Every American worth his salt feels exultant pride in the splendid courage and high efficiency of our soldiers in France. From General Pershing down they have made our country, and us who dwell therein, forever their debtors.

It is well to pay these men the homage of words, but what really counts is the homage of deeds. It is a dreadful thing to send our fine and gallant boys to battle, and yet to deny them the formidable weapons and machines of war, the lack of which must be paid for by pouring out their blood like water.

As a nation we cannot be acquitted of this wrong to our fighting men whom we have sent to the front. No finer fighting men were ever known, and their deeds are deeds of deathless honor. But our government, by its failure to prepare in advance and by its delay, waste, and mismanagement after the war began, has made a record that is not pleasant for Americans to contemplate. Let our people never forget that if we had chosen to prepare in advance we would probably

have ended the war in ninety days after we entered it in 1917; and that if when General Leonard Wood returned from France at the close of last winter the Administration had heeded his report and had done as he then advised and as every patriotic man of knowledge and insight then hoped, we would have been further advanced at the beginning of the summer than we are now at the end of the fall. Nine-tenths of wisdom is being wise in time.

When, on February 3, we broke off diplomatic relations with Germany the war really began. From that moment avoidable, unwarranted delay was as inexcusable as it is now. The day before Mr. Elon Hooker had laid before the authorities at Washington an offer to turn over his entire plant to the service of the government, this being the plant better fitted than any other in the United States to undertake the manufacture of war gas and the development of new and more formidable kinds of gas on a gigantic scale. His request was refused. A year elapsed before any serious effort was made to undo any of the effects of the error. At the same time we had the means for building enormous quantities of excellent machine-guns. The War Department refused to avail itself of the opportunity and dallied for about eighteen months in developing a new type of gun, leaving us meanwhile without any. We dawdled in similar fashion over the tanks. We have not yet built any field-guns, and are still dependent upon what the French can give us. It is necessary merely to refer to the appalling delay in the air service where six hundred and forty million dollars were appropriated and largely expended without securing any tangible result whatever on the field of battle until we had been at war nearly a year and a half.

For nearly a year after we entered the war our authorities behaved exactly as if they believed that if they delayed long enough England and France would win the victory without us; or as if the Russian Bolsheviks would disintegrate Germany; or as if in some other way, by some streak of good

luck, we would be able to win the war without bloodshed, without any effort on our part. In the shipping programme and the manufacture of field-artillery, in the air programme, in the machine-gun programme, in the tank programme, in the gas programme—in short, as regards every material element necessary to win the war with the least loss of blood among the fighting men—there was the same breakdown. After a year of war, when the great German drive began, our fighting army able to take part in the active work at the front was actually smaller than that of Belgium. In the next six months we were able to place in the field an army respectable in numbers and admirable in quality; and we were able to do this only because, in view of the breakdown of our shipping programme, the British furnished their ships, so that sixty per cent. of the tonnage used in ferrying our soldiers across was British. But we were able to furnish only the men. We had only the field-artillery the French furnished us. We got uniforms from the English. We did not have a single fighting plane of American make, and naturally the French did not give us their best planes. We had very few American machine-guns or auto-rifles. We had almost no gas. We had almost no tanks, and those we did have were furnished by our allies. We now have a few admirable naval guns, admirably handled, and a number of excellent bombing airplanes of our own manufacture.

The Russo-Japanese War lasted some sixteen months. During this time the Russian Government was rightly esteemed to have mismanaged matters. But the breakdown of our government for the first sixteen months after we went to war was far more complete than the breakdown of the Russian Government when opposed to Japan. At the end of that time we had some hundreds of thousands of fighting men, certainly unsurpassed, and perhaps unequalled in the world, but they had practically no artillery, tanks, airplanes, machine-guns, or gas of their own. They were still unprepared to act as an army by themselves. In other words, they would have been

utterly helpless against any well-equipped modern army. After sixteen months our government had failed to meet the situation even as well as the Russian Government had met its situation. The difference was that Russia had no allies, whereas our allies made a rampart of their bodies behind which we slowly prepared.

The business efficiency of our people is great. Its manpower is great. Its resources are enormous. Had the Administration, with an eye single to our country's needs, devoted its whole energy to speeding up the war, and abandoned all thought of politics during the war, the peace of overwhelming victory would by this time have been won. But this was not done. Never before in our history has the Administration in power during a war drawn party lines as sharply as in the present war. No one but an active partisan adherent of the Administration has been given any position of the slightest political responsibility; and the test in the appointment of even these, as established by President Wilson, in his messages concerning the election or re-election of congressmen, is loyalty to the Administration rather than loyalty to the country. But an immense number of business men, without distinction of party—Democrats and Republicans alike, men like Hoover, Ryan, Stettinius, Schwab, and Hurley—have come forward and rendered invaluable service at a nominal salary of one dollar a year, or something of the kind. Without distinction of party our best men have gone to the front to fight—except where, as in the case of General Wood, the Administration refused to use them. In Congress party lines have been abolished on the great issues connected with waging the war efficiently. The Republicans, as a matter of fact, furnished a greater percentage than the Democrats of the support needed by the President on the most important war measures. Thanks to the work of Congress, to the work of our private citizens, and above all to the valor of our soldiers, we have been able to develop some portion of our strength; and although we are not at this time one-quarter as efficient in the war as we could

have been if our leaders, without regard to politics, had devoted themselves in every way to speeding up the war, yet even the use of this small fraction of our giant strength has sufficed to turn the scale.

If we do our full duty even now the war may be over very soon. But it may continue for a long time. In any event let our people remember that every disaster and every delay is, will be and has been due to our people permitting the misconduct of the men in high political position to go unrebuked. If peace comes soon—and there should be no peace permitted except the peace of complete victory, a peace secured by the unconditional surrender of Germany—let our people remember that the unfortunate individuals made the scapegoats for our numerous breakdowns were not really to blame. It is the men in highest position over them who were really to blame; and these men were most heavily to blame for their failure to prepare in advance. When President Wilson, a year after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, appointed Mr. Baker secretary of war he absolutely insured all the trouble that has come from the breakdowns in our war programme. President Wilson has said, "We waited until every fair-minded citizen of our peace-loving democracy was aware that peace was impossible before we reluctantly began to prepare to defend ourselves"; and Secretary Baker and Mr. Creel, loyally supporting their chief, have said that they felt "delight" and "pride" in the fact that "we were not prepared." The satisfaction thus expressed and felt by the men responsible for our failure to prepare will not be shared by the mothers, the widows, and the orphans of the tens of thousands of gallant men whose deaths have been due and will be due to this failure.

If there is any lesson which this war ought to have taught it is the priceless value of time. Our delay was not fatal to us, merely because our allies protected us. Now we have begun to develop a great fighting force. No nation has finer stuff for soldiers than America; no nation has greater wealth; probably no other nation can draw on a population of such

energy, administrative capacity, and inventive resourcefulness. A year after our forced entry into the war we began to become a ponderable military element; we have steadily become more and more formidable; and finally, I believe, we shall become the decisive factor in the war.

Then there will be grave danger lest our vanity mislead us into forgetfulness of our helplessness for the first year and a half, and if so we shall again sink back into a condition of utter unpreparedness. For this reason let us refuse to be guilty of the folly of keeping silent as to the facts of the two years and a half preceding and of the year and a half succeeding our entry into the war. On this matter at least it is necessary to live up to President Wilson's former desire for "pitiless publicity."

Next time we may not find allies to defend us. Let Uncle Sam prepare to defend himself. Let him realize from the experience of the immediate past that, unless he prepares long in advance, he will be utterly helpless if suddenly menaced with war by a great military nation. Broomstick preparedness is of value only from the political standpoint.

Fine words will never save us from a foreign conqueror. Only deeds will save us; and then only if we prepare for these deeds in advance.

Brag is a good dog. But Holdfast is a better.

THE GOSPEL OF SPILT MILK

THE gospel as preached nineteen hundred years ago "called sinners to repentance." The sinners who profited by it were those who repented. They did not jauntily speak of their sins as spilt milk. They recognized themselves as sinners; they recognized the need of repentance. Unless they met these three conditions, they were regarded as hypocrites (and hypocrites were not laughed at, nor excused, but scathingly denounced). If the sinners announced that they were proud of their sins or took delight in them, or if they excused themselves and denied their shortcomings, they were not regarded as having repented at all and were denied all fellowship with those who had seen the light.

And those who summoned the sinners to repent did not tell them not to cry over spilt milk. On the contrary, they told them with emphasis that they had sinned, and that there was sore need of repentance, and that such sincere repentance for the past was the surest way to strengthen their souls against future repetition of their past misconduct.

The present-day chatter against speaking the necessary truth about our past governmental misconduct is apt to find expression in a protest against "crying over spilt milk." The beneficiaries of the chatter noisily announce that they feel "pride" and "delight" in having spilled the milk in the past, instead of bending their energies in repentant silence to mopping it up in the present.

For two years and a half the World War raged and we refused to prepare. Germany trampled Belgium into bloody mire, but we refused to prepare. She sank the *Lusitania* and

murdered our people wholesale upon the high seas, but we refused to prepare. She dynamited our factories at home, but we refused to prepare. Our government knew all about her plots; our governmental authorities had full knowledge of all she was doing, but they kept us ignorant and neutral and refused to prepare. Inert, timid, absorbed in money-getting, we dulled our souls with sentimental rhetoric which under such conditions was nauseous. Our leaders refused to take one thought for the terrible to-morrow or to harden a single fibre of our giant but flabby strength. We drifted into the war on a sea of fatuous phrases and fatuous refusals to act. And then for a year we waged the war with irresolute feebleness. Meanwhile the Administration, through Mr. Baker, through Mr. Creel, through the President himself, have excused or denied the shortcomings, have announced that they regarded them with pride and delight, and have persevered in them until dragooned out of them by hostile criticism. Yet with these facts staring us in the face, there are still persons who regard the gospel of "not crying over spilt milk" as an improvement upon the gospel of calling sinners to repentance.

It was not until the great German drive in the spring of 1918 came within a hand's breadth of wrecking the allied cause, that our people began to wake to the actual facts, and that the Administration began seriously to try to perform a substantial portion of its duty. By that time three years and nine months had passed since the Great War began, and over a year had passed since Germany forced us into it.

The most terrible battle of the whole terrible war was raging, a battle which might readily have meant the winning of the war by Germany.

It was an hour of awful trial and suffering and danger for our war-worn allies who in France were battling for us no less than for themselves. If shame is ever more dreadful than suffering, then it was a no less terrible hour for our country. Our allies stood with their backs to the wall in the fight for freedom, and America looked on. The free nations

stood at bay in the cause that was ours no less than theirs; and after over a year of war the army we had sent to their aid was smaller than that of poor, heroic, ruined Belgium, and was hardly more than a twentieth the size of that which gallant and impoverished Italy had in the field. And this great, wealthy nation of ours had not yet furnished to our own brave troops in the field, cannon, or tanks or airplanes, and almost no machine-guns, save those which we had obtained from hard-pressed France. And let our people remember that every gun or tank or airplane thus made for us by hard-pressed France was left unmade for hard-pressed Italy.

Our few gallant fighting men overseas had even then won high honor for themselves, and had made all other Americans forever their debtors. But it was a scandal and a reproach to this nation that they were so few and so badly equipped. If in this mighty battle our allies had failed, black infamy would have been our portion, because of the delay and the folly and the weakness and the cold, time-serving timidity of our government, to which this failure would have been primarily due.

Our allies did not fail. They staved off defeat. They managed to hold until Pershing was able to put into the line seven or eight divisions sufficiently trained and of such splendid natural worth that they could be used as shock troops—although even then these troops could fight only because we had obtained from our allies the necessary cannon, airplanes, tanks, and machine-guns, and although even then we could not put in separate army corps, our troops being joined in larger or smaller units with the French or English. But the native quality of our troops was such that they were a factor of prime importance in the great counter-drive which Foch then began and which after over three months of victory has forced Germany almost to her own borders and made her start her peace drive to avert unconditional surrender. The government is now really endeavoring to send men across the water as rapidly as possible. It is now endeavoring to speed up the ship programme. It is now endeavoring to hurry the air-

plane programme. It is employing big business men and apparently is giving them power. None of these things were done until Senator Chamberlain's committee, in the teeth of the violent opposition of the Administration, forced some efficiency and some speed into the work of war. Few of them were done effectively until the German drive galvanized the Administration into action. If these obvious things and the other obvious things like them had been energetically begun a year and a half ago, the American army would now be in Germany as the dominant factor in the war. If we had begun to prepare in August, 1914, the war would have been over long ago, and indeed we probably would not have had actually to fight and an infinity of bloodshed would certainly have been spared. Verily, our own country and the world at large have paid, are paying, and will pay a heavy price for the milk spilt by the Administration; and the heaviest blame rests on those false leaders of public thought who told the people not to cry over the spilt milk, instead of telling them to call the sinners to repentance and to see that the repentance was sincere and effective.

Let the sinners cease exulting over their sins and in good faith bring forth fruits meet for repentance. We are now doing what we ought to have done over a year and a half ago. We are now preparing to make our overseas army next spring what it could have been made and ought to have been made last spring. But let us not forget that the present action of the Administration in increasing the army furnishes the severest condemnation of its folly last spring in refusing then to do what it is now doing, when General Wood on his return from France, and when Lieutenant-General Young and all other competent advisers insisted upon the need of instantly starting to increase our army to five million fighting men overseas. To prepare along every line for a three years' war offers the best chance of shortening it; and if it lasts three years such preparation will guarantee us against the necessity a year hence, or two or three years hence, of trying to cover up failure

by nervously assuring one another that we need not cry over spilt milk.

If those responsible for our failure, if those responsible for the refusal to prepare during the two and a half years in which we were vouchsafed such warning as never nation previously received, if those responsible for the sluggish feebleness with which we have acted since we helplessly drifted into the war—if these men now repented of the cruel wrong they have done their nation and mankind, we could afford to wrap their past folly and evil-doing in the kindly mantle of oblivion.

But they boast of their foolishness, they excuse and justify it, they announce that they feel pride and delight in contemplating it. Therefore it was for us, the people, to bow our heads on our penitential day; for we were laggards in the battle, we let others fight in our quarrel, we let others pay with their shattered bodies for the fire in their burning souls.

The trumpets of the Lord sounded for Armageddon, but our hearts were not swift to answer nor our feet jubilant; coldly we at home watched others die that we might live. Our rulers were supple and adroit; but they were not mighty of soul. They showed that they would not lead us, and would even stand in front only if we forced them forward.

Overseas our fighting men, by their valor and their suffering, are now atoning for the manifold failures in the past of our rulers at home. Now at last we can hold our heads aloft, because these, our sons and brothers, have won immortal honor, and have established records of efficient and heroic valor which give our nation the same right which the allied nations already had to cherish forever sorrowful but glorious memories of this World War. But it behooves us to see that other millions of our fighting men stand beside them, and that they have every weapon and war machine necessary to enable them to win the war with the least expenditure of their gallant blood. Spilt milk in the past has meant spilt blood in the present. Spilt milk in the present will mean more spilt blood in the future.

This is the reason why we, the American people, must search our own hearts and with unflinching will insist that from now on not a day, not an hour shall be wasted until our giant but soft and lazy strength is hardened, until we ourselves take the burden from the shoulders of others, until we pay whatever price our past shortcomings demand, and with heads uplifted and spirit undaunted stride forward to the great goal of the peace of victorious right.

TELL THE TRUTH AND SPEED UP THE WAR

OUR prime need now is, and for eighteen months has been, to speed up the war. The chief method of making the government meet this need has been telling the truth.

In handling our army and navy deeds are everything and words unbacked by deeds or betrayed by deeds are worse than nothing. When last March General Wood and General Young, and Mr. Taft and the present writer asked for the immediate raising of an army of five million troops (we meant fighting soldiers, and not an alloy of forty per cent. of non-combatants), our purpose was not rhetorical. We desired to see the army provided for by law and then called into being by executive action. But to President Wilson the matter seemed primarily one of competitive rhetoric. Obviously he felt uneasy about the proposal and treated it as one which could be deftly put aside by adroit use of language. Accordingly, with marked histrionic effect, he asked, "why limit the army" to the five million we proposed, and announced that he wished an army "without limit." This was highly satisfactory as rhetoric. But the action of the President, taken through his secretary of war, showed that it was merely rhetoric. The *phrase* was an "army without limit"; the *fact* was that the army was fixed at a much lower limit than that which we had asked, and was thus fixed six months after we urged immediate action. Secretary Baker did not set himself to meet our greatest military need of to-day, which is a thorough mobilization of our whole man-power for service in our armies and in our war industries. He set himself to prevent the meeting of this need.

Congress last spring made ready to go ahead with the "fight or work" plan. But Mr. Baker, acting for the President, intervened. He asked for delay, for procrastination, and of course thereby paralyzed congressional action. He protested against the enlargement of the draft-age limits. He protested against planning more than a few months in advance. He said that we were "many months ahead of our original hope in regard to the transportation of men" overseas; but he omitted to add that this was because the original plans were hopelessly inadequate.

Never in our history has there been more fatuous incompetence than that displayed, alike in plan and action, by the War Department during the first nine months after we entered the war. Then the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate rendered the American people its debtor by stepping in and forcing some reorganization, some efficiency, in the War Department. But the department still refused to do anything that really counted overseas. In March, when the great German drive began, a year after we had entered the war, our gallant little army in France numbered fewer soldiers (not non-combatants) than those in the army of little Belgium, and did not possess a single airplane, tank, or field-gun, save those we had obtained from the hard-pressed French. The tremendous German drive galvanized even the War Department into action. It was Ludendorff who effectively revised the plans of President Wilson and Secretary Baker.

Then the English lent us ships, and we really did begin to send men abroad, until we had perhaps a million soldiers and over half as many non-combatants across. We actually did what we ought to have done, and by the exercise of moderate efficiency would have done, just one year previously. But in June the drive for the time being halted, and immediately Mr. Baker proposed a reversion to our former Rip Van Winkle slumber. Of course, what we ought to do now is with the utmost energy to prepare to place a gigantic army overseas next year. We have begun in earnest to build ships and air-

planes, and are preparing to build cannon and tanks. We are more populous and with greater resources than Germany. We are more populous than France and Great Britain combined. These nations have been through a terrible four years' war. We have as yet suffered no serious strain. Next spring we ought to have in France an army larger than the German army. We ought to have an army larger than the armies of England and France combined; we ought to have our troops fighting alongside the gallant Italian army and in the Balkans; we ought to have one or two hundred thousand men ferried in Japanese ships to take part in the Great War for civilization against the Turks in western Asia; and we ought to have at least a hundred thousand fighting troops in Siberia. This means that we ought to have overseas next spring an army of five million fighting men, which in turn means that we ought to provide now for an army of between six and seven million men all told.

Nor is it only our army as to which there is now failure to provide for the future. The same is true for the navy. During the first six months of the war the navy was almost as badly handled as the army, and it has not yet recovered from its complete mismanagement during the previous four years. Four years ago Admiral Bradley Fiske dared to tell the truth about naval conditions. He thereby rendered a very great service to the country, and for doing this the authorities punished him, exactly as Wood was punished for similar truth-telling; and thereby in both cases they served notice on the best men in the army and navy that they jeopardized their careers if they told the truth in the interest of our people as a whole. During the last nine months the navy appears to have been on the whole well handled—and the officers and enlisted men on the ships have made the same admirable record that has been made by the officers and enlisted men of our army and marine corps ashore. Admiral Sims and those serving under him have made all our people their debtors. But it now also appears from the published letters and statements

of Admirals Benson and Palmer that we are not taking thought for the future so far as the navy is concerned. The two admirals show that we are far short of the proper number not only of enlisted men but of officers. Incidentally the letter of Admiral Palmer, dated June 7, shows that the naval experts in the department reported to the secretary that we need "an enlisted strength of two hundred and twenty-five thousand men, if we are to carry on a successful war." Mr. Daniels, however, refused to follow the recommendations of his skilled naval advisers and asked only for one hundred and thirty-one thousand men, which, says Admiral Palmer, "is very much less than our requirements to organize the navy for war," and the leading majority members of the House Naval Committee opposed even this increase. Admiral Palmer in his letter states the truth with vigorous precision, saying that the fleet and shore organizations of the navy "on paper appear to be ready for any emergency; but actually they are not. . . . To fail to recognize this situation is to court national disaster. . . . Such a weakness in the navy invites a national catastrophe. Even though, through the strength of our allies, no national catastrophe does come, it is not a wise policy to spend a billion and a half for a navy a year, and then not use it well because it costs a million more to pay the men to run it properly." Admiral Benson, in taking the same position, derides anew the argument that we need not prepare because "the war may end soon," and says that even if this fatuous statement is true, "a navy comparable with our importance is the first essential. . . . Ships alone cannot make a navy . . . it is equally essential that we have the men to man these ships and the officers of all grades sufficient to insure the efficiency of the whole."

Reading these admirable statements by trained war officers, we realize keenly the grave wrong done this nation when the Administration deliberately muzzled the army officers, who before the war could and would have told our people their urgent military needs, by the following order:

WAR DEPARTMENT

Washington, February 23, 1915.

General Orders No. 10.

Officers of the Army will refrain, until further orders, from giving out for publication any interview, statement, discussion, or article on the military situation in the United States or abroad, as any expression of their views on this subject at present is prejudicial to the best interests of the service.

[2260070, A. G. O.]

By order of the Secretary of War :

H. L. SCOTT,

Brigadier-General, Chief of Staff.

By this order we deprived our people of all chance of learning from military experts our military needs. Our soldiers, the men of deeds, were forbidden to tell us how to turn our talk into deeds; and they were thus forbidden by the politicians, the men of phrases, who talked incessantly and did nothing to back up their talk.

It is well to remember that, when this order was issued, the present secretary of war, Mr. Baker, was mayor of Cleveland; and he at about that time notified the representatives of the Security League that "he was a pacifist and was opposed to the agitation for preparedness." A year later, although President Wilson had been notified by Ambassador Gerard that Germany intended to attack America if victorious over the Allies, he appointed Mr. Baker secretary of war. By no possibility could Mr. Wilson have rendered a greater service to the Kaiser and the German militarists.

A Russian peasant woman, Madam Botchkareva, a major in the Women's Death Battalion, who has been wounded four times in battle with the Germans, came here from Siberia last May to beg us to help Russia with facts instead of phrases. The authorities in Washington have at each successive crisis in Russia acted from one to ten months after the action

was useless. They failed to give economic help. They feared to take military action. They endeavored to conciliate the Bolsheviks and yet not to do anything for them. They endeavored to oppose the pro-German Russians, and yet not to offend them too deeply. They hoped for success in the effort, so dear to those who at heart are pacifists, to hit soft, to hit a little, but not very much. Botchkareva insisted that only an army (backed, of course, by ample economic aid for the Russians) would be of real help to Russia against the Germans and the pro-German Bolsheviks, and she was outspoken in her comments on the proposal to hit soft, remarking to one of our high administrators: "You Americans seem to delight in rivers of words. I have no time for words. I want to know what you are going to do to stop Germany; and I am here to tell you one way of doing it."

Recently there have occurred several incidents which ought to wake this nation to recognition of the fact that fine phrases are no substitutes for brave deeds, and that reliance upon them represents folly.

For several years we submitted (as we are now submitting) to the murder of our citizens, the rape of our women, and finally to the killing of our soldiers, by the authorized representatives of the Mexican Government. We waged two inglorious little wars with the Mexican Government, but finally admitted defeat and not only recognized but fawned upon those responsible for the outrages. We were told that thereby we would so impress the Mexicans with our good intentions and magnanimity and desire for peace that they would begin to love us dearly. Of course, we merely incurred their utter contempt and turned Mexico into a hotbed of anti-American and pro-German intrigue. The results of timidity masquerading as peaceful forbearance are set forth in a recent article in a strong Administration but stanchly patriotic newspaper, the *St. Louis Republic*, as follows: "We have twice invaded the territory of our neighbor to the south, withdrawing each time without any very definite accomplishment except to leave a

trail of bitter feeling. We now have more bitter enemies in Mexico than in any other country except Germany." If we had shown strength and courage we would have secured Mexico's genuine respect. Benevolent phrase-mongering has not proved a satisfactory substitute for strength and courage. It never will so prove. It did not so prove with Germany. If after this war we persist in it, other nations will grow to regard us as Germany and Mexico now do. The American pacifist has been the potent ally of the German militarist and the silly tool of the Hun within our gates. In the future we shall gain the respect and friendship of well-disposed nations and the respect and fear of ill-disposed nations by prepared strength; and profession of pacifism and of general good intentions, if we fail to prepare our strength, will conciliate nobody, will make us despised by everybody, and will expose us to the hostility of the forces of evil throughout the world.

This war will not be won by phrases. It will be won by the hard fighting of the fighting men at the front. And when this war has been won, America will not be able to keep the respect or even the good-will of other nations by fine phrases about internationalism, pacifism, a League of Nations, and the like. We must trust to deeds, not words; to facts, not phrases. We must trust to an aroused, unified, and intense spirit of nationalism and to the prepared readiness to defend our rights, and the rights of others, by our own hardened strength and courage.

Everything we have accomplished in this war—including going into the war—has been due solely to courageous, constructive criticism of the Administration, and insistence upon telling the truth in order to get us into the war, and then to make us do our duty in the war.

Only truth-telling in fearless criticism forced our entry into the war, and forced our belated preparedness for the war. Only resolute hammering forced the raising of our army to something like a proper size, and forced its being sent overseas. Nothing but steady criticism and relentless exposure put a

stop to the do-nothing policy as regards ships, troops, rifles, airplanes, machine-guns, cannon, and tanks. Nothing but complaint and agitation brought some improvement in the actual management of the War Department. The moral awakening of America, and the growth in our win-the-war efficiency, have been due solely to the pressure brought on the Administration by fearless, truth-telling and constructive criticism from without. Nothing has done more damage than the persistent concealment of the facts and denial of the truth by the Administration and its constant glittering prophecies, which were not fulfilled. It would be well for it to remember the recent answer of Marshal Foch when asked about future prospects: "Realities are far better than any sort of promise. It is useless to make promises that may give rise to exaggerated hopes. Nothing but realities count."

LINCOLN AND FREE SPEECH

PATRIOTISM means to stand by the country. It does not mean to stand by the President or any other public official save exactly to the degree in which he himself stands by the country. It is patriotic to support him in so far as he efficiently serves the country. It is unpatriotic not to oppose him to the exact extent that by inefficiency or otherwise he fails in his duty to stand by the country. In either event, it is unpatriotic not to tell the truth—whether about the President or about any one else—save in the rare cases where this would make known to the enemy information of military value which would otherwise be unknown to him.

Sedition, in the legal sense, means to betray the government, to give aid and comfort to the enemy, or to counsel resistance to the laws or to measures of government having the force of law. There can be conduct morally as bad as legal sedition which yet may not be violation of law. The President—any President—can by speech or action (by advocating an improper peace or improper submission to national wrong) give aid and comfort to the public enemy as no one else in the land can do, and yet his conduct, however damaging to the country, is not seditious; and although if public sentiment is sufficiently aroused he can be impeached, such course is practically impossible.

One form of servility consists in a slavish attitude—of the kind incompatible with self-respecting manliness—toward any person who is powerful by reason of his office or position. Servility may be shown by a public servant toward the profiteering head of a large corporation, or toward the anti-American

head of a big labor organization. It may also be shown in peculiarly noxious and un-American form by confounding the President or any other official with the country and shrieking "stand by the President," without regard to whether, by so acting, we do or do not stand by the country.

A distinguished Federal judge recently wrote me as follows:

"Last November it seemed as if the American people were going to be converted into a hallelujah chorus, whose only function in government should be to shout 'Hallelujah!' 'Hallelujah!' for everything that the Administration did or failed to do. Any one who did not join that chorus was liable to imprisonment for treason or sedition.

"I hope that we shall soon have recovered our sense as well as our liberty.

"The authors of the first amendment to the Federal Constitution guaranteeing the right of assembly and of freedom of speech and of the press did not thus safeguard those rights for the sake alone of persons who were to enjoy them, but even more because they knew that the Republic which they were founding could not be worked on any other basis. Since Marshall tried Burr for treason it has been clear that that crime cannot be committed by words, unless one acts as a spy, or gives advice to the enemy of military or naval operations. It cannot be committed by statements reflecting upon officers or measures of government.

"Sedition is different. Any one who directly advises or counsels resistance to measures of government is guilty of sedition. That, however, ought to be clearly distinguished from discussion of the wisdom or folly of measures of government, or the honesty or competency of public officers. That is not sedition. It is within the protection of the first amendment. The electorate cannot be qualified to perform its duty in removing incompetent officers and securing the repeal of unwise laws unless those questions may be freely discussed.

"The right to say wise things necessarily implies the right to say foolish things. The answer to foolish speech is wise

speech and not force. The Republic is founded upon the faith that if the American people are permitted freely to hear foolish and wise speech, a majority will choose the wise. If that faith is not justified the Republic is based on sand. John Milton said it all in his defense of freedom of the press: 'Let truth and error grapple. Who ever knew truth to be beaten in a fair fight?' "

Abraham Lincoln was in Congress while Polk was President, during the Mexican War. The following extracts from his speeches, during war-time, about the then President ought to be illuminating to those persons who do not understand that one of the highest and most patriotic duties to be performed in his country at this time is to tell the truth whenever it becomes necessary in order to force our government to speed up the war. It would, for example, be our highest duty to tell it if at any time we became convinced that only thereby could we shame our leaders out of hypocrisy and prevent the betrayal of human rights by peace talk of the kind which bewilders and deceives plain people.

These quotations can be found on pages 100 to 146 of Volume I of "Lincoln's Complete Works," by Nicolay and Hay.

In a speech on January 12, 1848, Lincoln justified himself for voting in favor of a resolution censuring the President for his action prior to and during the war (which was still going on). He examines the President's official message of justification and says, "that, taking for true all the President states as facts, he falls far short of proving his justification, and that the President would have gone further with his proof if it had not been for the small matter that the truth would not permit him." He says that part of the message "is from beginning to end the sheerest deception." He then asks the President to answer certain questions, and says: "Let him answer fully, fairly, and candidly. Let him answer with facts and not with arguments. Let him remember that he sits where Washington sat, and so remembering, let him answer as Washington would answer. Let him attempt no evasion, no

equivocation." In other words, Lincoln says that he does not wish rhetoric or fine phrases or glittering statements that contradict one another and each of which has to be explained with a separate key or adroit and subtle special pleading and constant reversal of positions previously held, but straightforward and consistent adherence to the truth. He continues that he "more than suspects" that the President "is deeply conscious of being in the wrong; that he feels that innocent blood is crying to heaven against him"; that one of the best generals had "been driven into disfavor, if not disgrace, by the President" for insisting upon speaking unpalatable truths about the length of time the war would take (and therefore the need of full preparedness); and ends by saying that the army has done admirably, but that the President has bungled his work and "knows not where he is. He is a bewildered, confounded, and miserably perplexed man. God grant he may be able to show there is not something about his conscience more painful than all his mental perplexity."

Remember that this is Lincoln speaking, in war-time, of the President. The general verdict of history has justified him. But it is impossible to justify him and not heartily to condemn the persons who in our time endeavor to suppress truth-telling of a far less emphatic type than Lincoln's.

Lincoln had to deal with various critics of the "stand by the President" type. To one he answers that "the only alternative is to tell the truth or to lie," and that he would not "skulk" on such a question. He explains that the President's supporters "are untiring in their efforts to make the impression that all who vote supplies or take part in the war do of necessity approve the President's conduct," but that he (Lincoln) and his associates sharply distinguished between the two and voted supplies and men but "denounced the President's conduct" and "condemned the Administration." He stated that to give the President the power demanded for him by certain people would "place the President where kings have always stood." In touching on what we should now speak of as rhetoric, he says:

"The honest laborer digs coal at about seventy cents a day, while the President digs abstractions at about seventy dollars a day. The coal is clearly worth more than the abstractions, and yet what a monstrous inequality in the price!" He emphatically protests against permitting the President "to take the whole of legislation into his hands"—surely a statement applying exactly to the present situation. To the President's servile party supporters he makes a distinction which also readily applies at the present day: "The distinction between the cause of the President . . . and the cause of the country . . . you cannot perceive. To you the President and the country seem to be all one. . . . We see the distinction clearly enough."

This last statement was the crux of the matter then and is the crux of the matter now. We hold that our loyalty is due solely to the American Republic, and to all our public servants exactly in proportion as they efficiently and faithfully serve the Republic. Our opponents, in flat contradiction of Lincoln's position, hold that our loyalty is due to the President, not the country; to one man, the servant of the people, instead of to the people themselves. In practice they adopt the fetichism of all believers in absolutism, for every man who parrots the cry of "stand by the President" without adding the proviso "so far as he serves the Republic" takes an attitude as essentially unmanly as that of any Stuart royalist who championed the doctrine that the king could do no wrong. No self-respecting and intelligent freeman can take such an attitude.

The Wisconsin legislature has just set forth the proper American doctrine, as follows:

"The people of the State of Wisconsin always have stood and always will stand squarely behind the National Government in all things which are essential to bring the present war to a successful end, and we condemn Senator Robert La Follette and all others who have failed to see the righteousness of our nation's cause, who have failed to support our government in matters vital to the winning of the war, and

we denounce any attitude or utterance of theirs which has tended to incite sedition among the people of our country."

In view of the recent attitude of the Administration as expressed through the attorney-general and postmaster-general I commend to its attention the utterances of Abraham Lincoln in 1848 and of the Wisconsin legislature in 1918. The Administration's warfare against German spies and American traitors has been feeble. The government has achieved far less in this direction than has been achieved by a few of our newspapers and by various private individuals. This failure is aggravated by such action as was threatened against *The Metropolitan Magazine*. *The Metropolitan*—and the present writer—have stood and will continue to stand, "squarely behind the national government in all things which are essential to bring the present war to a successful end" and to support "the righteousness of the nation's cause." We will stand behind the country at every point, and we will at every point either support or oppose the Administration precisely in proportion as it does or does not with efficiency and single-minded devotion serve the country.

From this position we will not be driven by any abuse of power or by any effort to make us not the loyal servants of the American people, but the cringing tools of a man who at the moment has power.

The Administration has in some of its actions on vital points shown great inefficiency (as proved by Senator Chamberlain's committee) and on other points has been guilty of conduct toward certain peoples wholly inconsistent with its conduct toward other peoples and wholly inconsistent with its public professions as regards all international conduct. It cannot meet these accusations, for they are truthful, and to try to suppress the truth by preventing the circulation of *The Metropolitan Magazine* is as high-handed a defiance of liberty and justice as anything done by the Hohenzollerns or the Romanoffs. Such action is intolerable. Contrast the leniency shown by the government toward the grossest offenses against the nation

with its eagerness to assail any one who tells unpleasant truths about the Administration. The Hearst papers play the German game when they oppose the war, assail our allies, and clamor for an inconclusive peace, and they play the German game when they assail the men who truthfully point out the shortcomings which, unless corrected, will redound to Germany's advantage and our terrible disadvantage. But the Administration has taken no action against the Hearst papers. *The Metropolitan Magazine* has supported the war, has championed every measure to speed up the war and to make our strength effective, and has stood against every proposal for a peace without victory. But the Administration acts against the magazine that in straightforward American fashion has championed the war. Such discrimination is not compatible with either honesty or patriotism. It means that the Administration is using the great power of the government to punish honest criticism of its shortcomings, while it accepts support of and apology for these shortcomings as an offset to action against the war and, therefore, against the nation. Conduct of this kind is a grave abuse of official power.¹

Whatever the Administration does, I shall continue to act in the future precisely as I have acted in the past. When a sena-

¹ The simple truth is that never in our history has any other Administration during a great war played politics of the narrowest personal and partisan type as President Wilson has done; and one of the features of this effort has been the careful and studied effort to mislead and misinform the public through information sedulously and copiously furnished them by government officials. An even worse feature has been the largely successful effort to break down freedom of speech and the freedom of the press by government action. Much of this action has been taken under the guise of attacking disloyalty; but it has represented action, not against those who were disloyal to the nation, but against those who disagreed with or criticised the President for failure in the performance of duty to the nation. The action of the government against real traitors, and against German spies and agents, has been singularly weak and ineffective. The chief of the Secret Service said that there were a quarter of a million German spies in this country. Senator Overman put the number at a larger figure; but not one has been shot or hung, and relatively few have been interfered with in any way. The real vigor of the Administration has been directed against honest critics who have endeavored to force it to speed up the war and to act with prompt efficiency against Germany. —T. R.

tor like Mr. Chamberlain in some great matter serves the country better than does the Administration, I shall support that senator; and when a senator like Mr. La Follette perseveres in the course followed by the Administration before it reversed itself in February, 1917, I shall oppose him and to that extent support the Administration in its present position. I shall continue to support the Administration in every such action as floating the liberty loans, raising the draft army, or sending our troops abroad. I shall continue truthfully to criticise any flagrant acts of incompetency by the Administration, such as the failure in shipping matters and the breakdown of the War Department during the last fourteen months, when it appears that such truthful criticism offers the only chance of remedying the wrong. I shall support every official from the President down who does well, and shall oppose every such official who does ill. I shall not put the personal comfort of the President or of any other public servant above the welfare of the country.

In a self-governing country the people are called citizens.¹ Under a despotism or autocracy the people are called subjects. This is because in a free country the people are themselves sovereign, while in a despotic country the people are under a sovereign. In the United States the people are all citizens, including its President. The rest of them are fellow citizens of the President. In Germany the people are all subjects of the Kaiser. They are not his fellow citizens, they are his subjects. This is the essential difference between the United States and Germany, but the difference would vanish if we now submitted to the foolish or traitorous persons who endeavor to make it a crime to tell the truth about the Administration when the Administration is guilty of incompetence or other shortcomings. Such endeavor is itself a crime against the nation. Those who take such an attitude are guilty of moral treason of a kind both abject and dangerous.

¹ This paragraph and the five which follow are from two articles on the same theme in the *Kansas City Star*, April 6 and May 7, 1918.

Our loyalty is due entirely to the United States. It is due to the President only and exactly to the degree in which he efficiently serves the United States. It is our duty to support him when he serves the United States well. It is our duty to oppose him when he serves it badly. This is true about Mr. Wilson now and it has been true about all our Presidents in the past. It is our duty at all times to tell the truth about the President and about every one else, save in the cases where to tell the truth at the moment would benefit the public enemy. Since this war began, the suppression of the truth by and about the Administration has been habitual. In rare cases this has been disadvantageous to the enemy. In the vast majority of cases it has been advantageous to the enemy, detrimental to the American people, and useful to the Administration only from the political, not the patriotic, standpoint.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has just recommended the passage of a law in which, among many excellent propositions to put down disloyalty, there has been adroitly inserted a provision that any one who uses "contemptuous or slurring language about the President" shall be punished by imprisonment for a long term of years and by a fine of many thousand dollars. This proposed law is sheer treason to the United States. Under its terms Abraham Lincoln would have been sent to prison for what he repeatedly said of Presidents Polk, Pierce, and Buchanan. Under its terms President Wilson would be free to speak of Senator-elect Lenroot as he has spoken, but Senator Lenroot would not be free truthfully to answer President Wilson. It is a proposal to make Americans subjects instead of citizens. It is a proposal to put the President in the position of the Hohenzollerns and Romanoffs. Government by the people means that the people have the right to do their own thinking and to do their own speaking about their public servants. They must speak truthfully and they must not be disloyal to the country, and it is their highest duty by truthful criticism to make and keep the public servants loyal to the country.

Any truthful criticism could and would be held by partisanship to be slurring or contemptuous. The Delaware House of Representatives has just shown this. It came within one vote of passing a resolution demanding that the Department of Justice proceed against me because, in my recent speeches in Maine, I "severely criticised the conduct of our national government." I defy any human being to point out a statement in that speech which was not true and which was not patriotic, and yet the decent and patriotic members of the Delaware legislature were only able to secure a majority of one against the base and servile partisanship of those who upheld the resolution.

I believe the proposed law is unconstitutional. If it is passed, I shall certainly give the government the opportunity to test its constitutionality. For whenever the need arises I shall in the future speak truthfully of the President in praise or in blame, exactly as I have done in the past. When the President in the past uttered his statements about being too proud to fight and wishing peace without victory, and considering that we had no special grievance against Germany, I spoke of him as it was my high duty to speak. Therefore, I spoke of him truthfully and severely, and I cared nothing whether or not timid and unpatriotic and short-sighted men said that I spoke slurringly or contemptuously. In as far as the President in the future endeavors to wage this war efficiently and to secure the peace of overwhelming victory, I shall heartily support him. But if he wages it inefficiently or if he should now champion a peace without victory, or say that we had no grievance against Germany, I would speak in criticism of him precisely as I have spoken in the past. I am an American and a free man. My loyalty is due to the United States, and therefore it is due to the President, the senators, the congressmen, and all other public servants only and to the degree in which they loyally and efficiently serve the United States.

Free speech, exercised both individually and through a free

press, is a necessity in any country where the people are themselves free. Our government is the servant of the people, whereas in Germany it is the master of the people. This is because the American people are free and the German are not free. The President is merely the most important among a large number of public servants. He should be supported or opposed exactly to the degree which is warranted by his good conduct or bad conduct, his efficiency or inefficiency in rendering loyal, able, and disinterested service to the nation as a whole. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that there should be full liberty to tell the truth about his acts, and this means that it is exactly as necessary to blame him when he does wrong as to praise him when he does right. Any other attitude in an American citizen is both base and servile. To announce that there must be no criticism of the President, or that we are to stand by the President, right or wrong, is not only unpatriotic and servile, but is morally treasonable to the American public. Nothing but the truth should be spoken about him or any one else. But it is even more important to tell the truth, pleasant or unpleasant, about him than about any one else.

I contemptuously refuse to recognize any American adaptation of the German doctrine of lese-majesty. I am concerned only with the welfare of my beloved country and with the effort to beat down the German horror in the interest of the orderly freedom of all the nations of mankind. If the Administration does the work of war with all possible speed and efficiency, and stands for preparedness as a permanent policy, and heartily supports our allies to the end, and insists upon complete victory as a basis for peace, I shall heartily support it. If the Administration moves in the direction of an improper peace, of the peace of defeat and of cowardice, or if it wages war feebly and timidly, I shall oppose it and shall endeavor to wake the American people to their danger.

I hold that only in this way can I act as patriotism bids me

act. I hold that only in this way can I serve in even the slightest degree the cause of America, of the Allies, and of liberty; and that only thus can I aid in thwarting Germany's effort to establish a world tyranny.

THE SQUARE DEAL IN AMERICANISM

THERE are two demands upon the spirit of Americanism, of nationalism. Each must be met. Each is essential. Each is vital, if we are to be a great and proud nation.

The first is that we shall tolerate no kind of divided allegiance in this country. There is no room for the hyphen in our citizenship. There is no place for a fifty-fifty Americanism in the United States. He who is not with us, absolutely and without reserve of any kind, is against us, and should be treated as an alien enemy, to be interned or sent out of the country. We have room in this country for but one flag, the Stars and Stripes, and we should tolerate no allegiance to any other flag, whether a foreign flag or the red flag or black flag. We have room for but one loyalty, loyalty to the United States. We have room for but one language, the language of Washington and Lincoln, the language of the Declaration of Independence and the Gettysburg speech; the English language. English should be the only language used or taught in the primary schools, public or private; in higher schools of learning other modern languages should be taught, on an equality with one another; but the language of use and instruction should be English. We should require by law that within a reasonable length of time, a time long enough to prevent needless hardship, every newspaper should be published in English. The language of the church and the Sunday-school should be English. The government should provide night schools free for every immigrant who comes here, require him to attend them, and return him to his own country unless at the end of five years he has learned to speak and read English. This war

has shown us in vivid and startling fashion the danger of allowing our people to separate along lines of racial origin and linguistic cleavage. We shall be guilty of criminal folly if we fail to insist on the complete and thoroughgoing unification of our people.

The German-American Alliance and all similar bodies, the Sinn Feiners, the East Side Russian revolutionary organizations, the Germanized Socialists, and most of the leaders of Mr. Townley's Non-Partisan League and the I. W. W. are anti-American to the core. In *Everybody's Magazine* for December last will be found extracts from German-American papers, and from Sinn Fein and Yiddish pro-German papers which are as profoundly anti-American as if they were published in Berlin. It is true that parallel with them are given extracts just as mischievous from certain papers printed in English, like the Hearst papers. Morally the latter are even more to blame than the former; but in their case the evil teaching is at any rate in a language which permits us to know about it, and to act about it if we choose; whereas the foreign-language papers work behind a veil which shuts them out from the sight of the average citizen.

There is no permanent use in half-measures. It is silly to be lackadaisical over men of German origin having to fight the Germans of Prussianized Germany. Washington and most of his associates were of English origin; nevertheless they fought the British king. If they had not done so we would not now be a nation. If the Americans of German blood do not now fight against Germany and feel against Germany as strongly as the rest of us they are not fit to be Americans at all. The deeds committed by King George and his servants which led up to the Revolution were trivial compared to the hideous iniquities perpetrated upon us by the servants, tools, and agents of the Hohenzollerns during the last four years. If peace should come to-morrow, nevertheless our bitter experience should teach us for a generation to watch keenly for German propaganda in this country, to treat with

contemptuous scorn the Hearsts, Vierecks, and the like, and to crush under our heel every movement that smacks in the smallest degree of playing the German game.

This is one of the demands to be made in the name of the spirit of American nationalism. The other is equally important. We must treat every good American of German or of any other origin, without regard to his creed, as on a full and exact equality with every other good American, and set our faces like flint against the creatures who seek to discriminate against such an American, or to hold against him the birth-place of himself or his parents. The friends of whom I am proudest and in whom I most believe include men like Loeb and Hermann Hagedorn and Hans Zinzer and Dolge, and the late George Meyer and August Vogel, and innumerable others, who are themselves in the army, or whose sons are in the army, and whose patriotism entitles them to fill any position from the presidency down. To discriminate in any way, because they are in whole or in part of German blood, against such men as these, who are typical Americans of the very best kind this country yields, is a base infamy from the personal standpoint, and from the public standpoint is utterly un-American and profoundly unpatriotic. Among the Americans who have won most honor at the front are very many of German blood. The battalions, companies, squadrons, and batteries which my sons command, and have commanded, are full of such men. There is no better officer or more typical American in the entire American navy than my former White House aide, Osterhaus. I read how Lieutenant Edward Rickenbacher, the crack flier of our air-service, attacked single-handed and destroyed two German airplanes, and then on his way back across our lines saw a fellow American flier, Lieutenant James A. Meissner, assailed by a German airplane while he was attacking another; and Rickenbacher brought down the latter, and the two Americans returned in triumph. From their names I gather that the two men are at least in part of German blood (as I am myself). They have made all good Americans their debtors!

The other day I spoke at Springfield, Ohio, for speeding up the war until Germany was beaten to her knees. I was introduced by the president of Wittenberg College, a Lutheran college founded by Germans, but now straight-out American, just as much as Harvard, Yale, or Princeton, with two hundred of her sons in our army or navy. The invocation was by a Catholic monsignor, a chaplain-major in the United States army, born in Germany; the benediction was by a Lutheran minister of German parentage. But we were all four of us Americans and nothing else, and we all preached the same straight-out doctrine of simon-pure Americanism—and in the same language, English. At Martinsville, Ind., I was introduced by Mayor Schmidt, whose two sons were in the army; one was wounded and was in the same hospital with one of my sons. At Milwaukee, I was introduced by August Vogel; three of his sons were in the army, and the fourth was only waiting until he was eighteen. In one hospital on the cot next to another of my sons was another young officer, wounded also. He had shown exceptional gallantry; and when a Red Cross worker asked him his name he answered: "Say! Don't faint! My name is Von Holzendorf. Wouldn't the Huns feel gay if they knew they had almost got a man of that name?" The troops commanded by my sons have included at least as many men whose parents were born in foreign countries—England and Ireland, Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, and the Scandinavian and Slavonic lands—as men whose parents were of old native American stock; some were Protestants, some Catholics, some Jews; and all did equally well, and all were Americans and nothing but Americans.

I read in the press how the New York Liederkrantz has established English as the official language of the club, and passed a resolution providing for the expulsion of any member of the club who is guilty directly or indirectly of an act or word hostile to the United States or its allies. As its president said, the club is "one hundred per cent American"; and between one and two hundred of its members or their sons

and nephews now wear the uniform of the United States army or navy.

Indeed the club has thought of changing its name. This I hope will not be done. "German" should be left out of the name; but Liederkranz is just as good a name for a club as Knickerbocker, just as good a name as is William and Mary for a college; and I think it a mistake to lose the sense of historic continuity by abandoning any such name, which has grown to possess many American associations. Moreover, the Liederkranz type of club is one which, when thoroughly Americanized, and when Americans of all national origins are admitted freely into it, and when developed along our own lines, makes a distinctly individual and most valuable contribution to American social life.

So it is with the best type of "German-American" newspaper. Many of these papers have a fine and honorable record. At this moment such a paper as *The New-Yorker Herold* is doing capital work; and it was founded by a "forty-eighter" who stanchly upheld Lincoln and the cause of the Union and of Liberty. There is just one way in which to preserve *in its usefulness* such a paper, and that is to have it gradually change from German into English. If it continues German it will either die or cease to be useful to the country. For example, *The Brooklyn Freie Presse* has just suspended publication, because, in spite of its patriotism, its patriotic readers grew to wish to read papers printed in the tongue of their fellow countrymen. It was founded by a German, a Union soldier; four of his grandsons are now in the military service of the United States. The big press associations of the country should step in and patriotically offer their services for English editions of such papers if they will change from German to English. Every paper in a foreign language should be required to be published in English after a reasonable time; but many such papers are entirely loyal and have been very useful; and we should make every effort to enable them to continue as American newspapers, proud of their past, but changed as the chang-

ing times require, and henceforth printed in the language of the American people.

When I was governor of New York I was a member of the same Dutch Reformed church to which two and a half centuries earlier Governor Peter Stuyvesant had belonged; and we sat at communion at a long table in the aisle just as he and his associates had done. It was pleasant, indeed wise, to keep alive the tradition, the sense of historic continuity. But we used English, not Dutch, as our language; our minister had a Scotch name; one-half the congregation had English or other non-Dutch names. We were not exiled or transplanted Hollanders. We were Americans and nothing but Americans; we were at home in America; and only in America.

Many politicians and many newspapers, actuated by varying motives, have upheld the theory of separate nationalities in America—a theory absolutely fatal to true Americanism. Recently the *New York World* was quoted as demanding the stopping of “the crusade against German language newspapers” on the ground that “we need the true Germany in America to fight the false Germany in Europe.” There could be no demand more mischievously unpatriotic and anti-American. It is precisely the demand which a far-seeing Ambassador Bernstorff would most warmly encourage. We do not need a “Germany in America,” whether true or false, any more than we need an “England in America,” or an “Ireland in America,” or any other nation-of-somewhere-else in America. To encourage “the true Germany in America” is to encourage a separate nationality within our borders, which may at any time define “truth” and “falseness” in terms not of America but of Germany. No good citizen or true American will accept *The World’s* position in this matter. We must resolutely refuse to permit our great nation, our great America, to be split into a score of little replicas of European nationalities, and to become a Balkan Peninsula on a larger scale. We are a nation, and not a hodge-podge of foreign nationalities. We are a people, and not a polyglot board-

ing-house. We must insist on a unified nationality, with one flag, one language, one set of national ideals. We must shun as we would shun the plague all efforts to make us separate in groups of separate nationalities. We must all of us be Americans, and nothing but Americans; and all good Americans must stand on an equality of consideration and respect, without regard to their creed or to the land from which their forebears came.

Elsie Singmaster, whose writings, perhaps especially those dealing with the battle of Gettysburg, are sermons teaching what is best and simplest and loftiest in the American spirit, has written me a letter setting forth what I have to say better than I can do it myself.

Gettysburg, Pa., June 3, 1918.

MY DEAR COLONEL ROOSEVELT:

I have been reading with pleasure an account of your timely address to the Germans of Milwaukee, and it occurred to me that you might be interested in the earliest piece of similar advice, which I enclose herewith. It is a great pity that there were so few early and later German Americans of Pastorius's mind.

Since 1914 I have taken pains to observe the attitude of the Pennsylvania Germans, and I believe that the majority are as heartily in favor of this war as any other good Americans. A "foreign German" in a Pennsylvania German village has for generations been as much of an alien as an Italian or a Spaniard and has had less in common with the inhabitants.

Last month I spoke each evening in some little church or schoolhouse of our country for our local Red Cross organization, and I am beginning to feel that we are a nation aroused. To drive miles on a mountain road which seems to be really a creek bed, to speak to a handful of people, to be listened to with attention which not even the calling of the whippoorwills outside or the wailing of the babies within can affect in the least, and then to watch an old man, poor in worldly goods,

but rich in patriotism, rise to give the first five or ten dollars of a generous donation because he "went out in '61 and stayed till the end and wants to help the boys now"—there is an experience to be remembered always.

Very sincerely yours,

ELSIE SINGMASTER LEWARS.

The letter of Pastorius to his children, written in 1695, runs in part as follows: the advice was sound then, at the time (when certain of my own forebears who were German or "high Dutch" were helping found Germantown), and it is even sounder now, when the opportunity is to become not English colonists but American citizens.

"Dear Children: John, Samuel and Henry Pastorius: Though you are (*Germano sanguine nati*) of high Dutch parents, yet remember that your father was Naturalized, and ye born in an English colony, Consequently each of you *Anglus Natus* an Englishmen by Birth. Therefore it would be a shame for you if you should be ignorant of the English tongue, the tongue of your Countrymen; but that you may learn the better I have left a Book for you both, and commend the same to your reiterated perusal. If you should not get much of the Latin, nevertheless read ye the English part oftentimes *Over and Over and Over*. For the drippings of the house-eaves in time make a hole in a hard stone."

Treat all Americans as on the same footing; and let no man live permanently in this country unless he is an American and nothing but an American.

We are the fellow countrymen of Washington and Lincoln, of Lighthorse Harry Lee and his great son, of Grant and Sherman and Farragut, of Marion and Paul Revere and Schuyler, of Washington's General Sullivan and Lincoln's General Sheridan. These men were of diverse ancestry; their

forefathers came from England or Ireland or Scotland or Holland or France or Spain. But they were Americans, and nothing else; and if we are really to be loyal to their spirit, we, in our day, must be Americans, and nothing else. And, above all, we must be Americans, and only Americans, in the face of any and every foreign foe.

We are also, and just as much, the fellow countrymen of Muhlenberg and Custer. There is no more typically American figure in the Revolutionary War than that of Muhlenberg, the American of pure German blood, the pastor of a Lutheran church at the outbreak of the Revolution. On the Sunday after the call for arms came he mounted his pulpit; he admonished his flock that there was a time for prayer and a time for battle, and that the time for battle had come. Casting aside his frock, he appeared in the uniform of a colonel of the Continental army; and on many a stricken field he proved his valor and devotion. Custer, a man of German descent, was one of the most gallant and heroic figures of the Civil War and the Indian Wars; his name and career made up one of the finest traditions of our army. In the Civil War there fought many, many men of German birth; Sigel, Osterhaus, Hentzleman; innumerable others. They proved their Americanism by their deeds. Their grandsons are in our army and navy to-day. Their undivided loyalty is given to one flag, to our flag. They are incapable of a loyalty different from that of their fellow Americans of different blood. These fellow Americans of theirs who happen to be of different blood must in their turn see to it that any one who discriminates against these men because they are of German blood is himself branded as a traitor.

I speak as an American who has German blood in his veins. I speak on behalf of all loyal Americans who are, in whole or in part, of German blood. Our devotion knows no other country but this. With all our hearts we are against Germany to-day exactly as the loyal Americans of English descent who

followed Washington were against England in their day. We feel it incumbent on us to be, if anything, a little more ready to follow the call of America against Germany precisely because of our blood. Our hearts burn with wrath over the horrible brutality, cruelty, and treachery of the Germany of the Hohenzollerns. We abhor, and would punish with relentless sternness, the American traitors of German blood who in this crisis are false to America, or hostile to the allies of America, or who in any way or shape serve Germany. And therefore we feel the keenest indignation against all men who in any way seek to discriminate against us because of the land from which our forefathers came. We do not beg as a favor, we challenge as a right, full equality of respect and of treatment for all our fellow Americans.

I have just received a letter from one of the very best Americans I know, a Congregational clergyman, Frazer Metzger, a man whose father and mother both were born in Germany. He was an exceptionally high-minded and useful citizen in time of peace. Since this war began his soul has flamed with anger against the ruthless wickedness of Germany; and he has led with fiery ardor in every patriotic movement to strengthen America's hand and to exalt her soul so that she may accept no peace without overwhelming victory. Yet mean-souled creatures have assailed this man because he is of German blood. He writes me:

"This distrust is putting fear into the hearts of some of us, which fear is not personal but national. I understand that Washington looks upon Goethals as pro-German, and I can't believe it. Take my own case. Since the outbreak of the war, I have devoted practically all my time and spent all my little savings for America and against the indescribable menace of German dominance. Yet I find myself laid open to the suspicion of being pro-German, charged with hiding my German proclivities behind a blatant and insincere loyalty, merely because I am of German descent."

The people who thus assail a high-minded American because he is of German blood are as base as if they slandered the memories of Nathan Hale and his New England comrades of the Revolution because they were of English blood. The finest Americans in our land to-day are the Americans of German blood whose whole-hearted loyalty is given to this Republic as against all her foes. One of the ablest and most gallant men in our army, born in Germany, recently wrote me: "Your country is my country, and my country is your country, and there is no other country for either of us." There spoke the true American! How can we sufficiently express our scorn of those who would in any way discriminate against such Americans?

The persons who attempt such discrimination are themselves utterly unpatriotic. By their actions they inflict a cruel wrong on their fellow countrymen. Moreover, they do their best to drive these same fellow countrymen away from their loyalty. There are plenty of men of German blood who are disloyal; and there are plenty of men of Irish and Jewish *and native-American* blood who are disloyal—indeed, the most influential leaders of disloyalty in this country have been of old native stock. Punish every disloyal man; but punish him because he is disloyal, not because of his blood. The government ought at once to establish martial law wherever there are outrages against person or property by German spies or by pro-German American sympathizers, or by Irishmen whose hatred of England makes them disloyal to America, or by I. W. W. people, or by any other enemies of our country. The government ought to visit all such offenders with the full severity of military law. The time for shilly-shallying is long past. Any newspaper, whether published in German or in English, which directly or indirectly supports traitorous action should be promptly suppressed. But the great mass of Americans who are wholly or partly of German blood are exactly as loyal as Americans of any other blood; and it is a foul wrong not to treat all exactly alike.

I am well aware that the trouble is mainly due to the action of the openly or covertly disloyal German-Americans and of the openly or covertly disloyal German-American press, and of the Irish-Americans who are the paid or unpaid agents of Germany, and of the native-American politicians and editors who have pandered to the disloyal foreign vote. Among all these paid or unpaid agents of Germany, the disloyal men of German origin have been the most evil enemies of the entirely loyal mass of American citizens of German origin, and this should be recognized by all loyal citizens.

The disloyal man, whether his disloyalty is open or disguised, is our worst foe; but close behind him comes the man who, whether from wickedness or foolishness, assails his loyal fellow citizens because of the blood that flows in their veins.

Indeed, this war against the brutal militaristic and capitalistic tyranny of Germany is, in a sense, peculiarly the war of all true Americans of German blood, exactly as the war of the Revolution was, in a sense, peculiarly the war of all true Americans of English blood. It should mark the rebirth of our nation; of a nation dedicated to orderly freedom and to the cause of justice for all men. We are a new people; we differ from all other peoples; we are neither English nor Irish, neither German nor French; we are Americans, and only Americans. We are bound to treat all other nations on their conduct, and only on their conduct, in each crisis as it arises.

Above all, we are bound to treat all our fellow Americans with reference solely to their whole-hearted loyalty to American ideals as embodied in the great Americans whose names I have used above. True Americans who are in whole or in part of German blood claim nothing except the right to serve America and to be judged according to their service.

Just what and who the American fighting man—and therefore the best American—is when at his best, may be seen in the following poem by Mr. James W. Foley. Many years ago, in the cow country, on the Little Missouri, Mr. Foley's father was a valued friend and neighbor of mine; and the poet him-

self was the "Foleys' boy" of the Ann Arbor Professor incident, recorded on page 426 of my "Wilderness Hunter." The poem runs as follows:

YANKS

O'Leary, from Chicago, and a first-class fightin' man,
For his father was from Kerry, where the gentle art began:
Sergeant Dennis P. O'Leary, from somewhere on Archie Road,
Dodgin' shells and smellin' powder while the battle ebbed and flowed.

And the captain says: "O'Leary, from your fightin' company
Pick a dozen fightin' Yankees and come skirmishin' with me,
Pick a dozen fightin' devils, and I know it's you who can."
And O'Leary, he saluted like a first-class fightin' man.

O'Leary's eye was piercin' and O'Leary's voice was clear:
"Dimitri Georgoupoulos!" And Dimitri answered "Here!"
Then "Vladimir Slaminsky! Step three paces to the front,
For we're wantin' you to join us in a little Heinie hunt!"

"Garibaldi Ravioli!" Garibaldi was to share;
And "Ole Axel Kettleson!" and "Thomas Scalp-the-Bear!"
Who was Choctaw by inheritance, bred in the blood and bones,
But set down in army records by the name of Thomas Jones.

"Van Winkle Schuyler Stuyvesant!" Van Winkle was a bud
From the ancient tree of Stuyvesant and had it in his blood;
"Don Miguel de Colombo!" Don Miguel's next o' kin
Were across the Rio Grande when Don Miguel went in.

"Ulysses Grant O'Sheridan!" Ulysses' sire, you see,
Had been at Appomattox near the famous apple-tree;
And "Patrick Michael Casey!" Patrick Michael, you can tell,
Was a fightin' man by nature with three fightin' names as well.

"Joe Wheeler Lee!" And Joseph had a pair of fightin' eyes;
And his granddad was a Johnny, as perhaps you might surmise;
Then "Robert Bruce MacPherson!" And the Yankee squad was done
With "Isaac Abie Cohen!" once a lightweight champion.

Then O'Leary paced 'em forward and, says he: "You Yanks, fall in!"
And he marched 'em to the captain. "Let the skirmishin' begin."
Says he, "The Yanks are comin', and you beat 'em if you can!"
And saluted like a soldier and first-class fightin' man!

By rights this skirmish squad should have included a couple of men of German parentage, and two or three others whose ancestors came over in the *Mayflower*; and then it would have been an accurate cross-section of the American people. This war has been the real crucible, the functioning crucible for our nation; and now no matter what our ancestry, all of us who are Americans at all are Americans and nothing else.

SOUND NATIONALISM AND SOUND INTERNATIONALISM

THE tremendous thrust of the Allies during the last three months, in which the hard-fighting soldiers of the American army have borne so distinguished and honorable a part, has meant grave military disaster to Germany. Therefore it has resulted in a renewal of the German peace offensive. No man can prophesy in these matters, but the Germans may yet continue the war for a long time; and therefore we should prepare to have in France an army of four million fighting men (not including non-combatants) for the battle front next spring. But the Germans seem likely to try to make peace instead of continuing the war and are apparently seeking to cover their retention of some of their ill-gotten substantial gains by nominal and theoretical support of some glittering proposal about a league of nations to end all war. They thereby hope to keep part of their booty by appealing to what is vaguely called internationalism, and getting the support not only of sentimentalists who do not like to look unpleasant facts in the face, but also of the good people who are appalled and puzzled and panic-stricken by the horror Germany has brought on the world, and who, instead of bracing themselves to put down this horror by their own hardened strength and iron will, clutch at any quack remedy which false prophets hold out as offering a substitute for such action.

Therefore it is well at this time for sober and resolute men and women to apply that excellent variety of wisdom colloquially known as "horse-sense" to the problems of nationalism and internationalism. These problems will not be solved by rhetoric. Least of all will they be solved by competitive

rhetoric. Masters of phrasemaking may win immense, although evanescent, applause by outvying one another in words that glitter, but these glittering words will not have one shred of lasting effect on the outcome except in so far as they may have a very mischievous effect if they persuade good, ignorant people to abandon the possible real good in the fantastic effort to achieve an impossible unreal perfection. Let honest men and women remember that this kind of phrasemongering does not represent idealism. The only idealism worth considering in the workaday business of this world is applied idealism. This is merely another way of saying that permanent good to humanity is most apt to come from actually trying to reduce ideals to practice, and this means that the ideals must be substantially or at least measurably realizable.

The professed internationalist usually sneers at nationalism, at patriotism, and at what we call Americanism. He bids us forswear our love of country in the name of love of the world at large. We nationalists answer that he has begun at the wrong end; we say that, as the world now is, it is only the man who ardently loves his country first who in actual practice can help any other country at all. The internationalist bids us to promise to abandon the idea of keeping America permanently ready to defend her rights by her strength and to trust, instead, to scraps of paper, to written agreements by which all nations form a league, and agree to disarm, and agree each to treat all other nations, big or little, on an exact equality. We nationalists answer that we are ready to join any league to enforce peace or similar organization which offers a likelihood of in some measure lessening the number and the area of future wars, but only on condition that in the first place we do not promise what will not or ought not to be performed, or be guilty of proclaiming a sham, and that in the second place we do not surrender our right and duty to prepare our own strength for our own defense instead of trusting to the above-mentioned scraps of paper. In justification we point

to certain very obvious facts which ought to be patent to every man of common sense.

Any such league of nations must, of course, include the nine nations which have the greatest military strength, or it will be utterly impotent. These nine nations include Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Russia. The first three have abundantly shown during the last four years that no written or other promise of the most binding kind has even the slightest effect upon their actions. The fourth, Russia, under the lead and dominion of the Bolsheviki, has just been guilty of the grossest possible betrayal of her allies and of the small kindred Slavonic peoples and of world democracy. This betrayal was in the interest of a military and despotic autocracy and included the direct violation of Russia's plighted faith. Under such conditions it is unnecessary to say that at present Russia's signature to a league to enforce peace will not be worth the paper on which it is written. Therefore the creation of any such league for the future will simply mean a pledge by the present allies to make their alliance perpetual, and all to go to war again whenever one of them is attacked. This may become necessary, but it certainly does not imply future disarmament. And if the Administration really means loyal adherence to a league of nations, or a league to enforce peace in the future, it must at once confess and atone for its shameful betrayal of the existing league of allies by its failure to declare war on Turkey and Bulgaria.

Nor is this all. The United States must come into court with clean hands. She must not pledge herself without reservation to the right of "self-determination" for each people while she has behaved toward Haiti and San Domingo as she is now behaving. It is not possible for me to say whether our action in these two cases has been right or wrong, because the Administration, with its usual horror of publicity, whether pitiless or otherwise, and its inveterate predilection for secret and furtive diplomacy, has kept most of the facts hidden. I believe that there was no possible excuse for such secret diplo-

macy in these cases and that the same course should have been followed as was followed in the case of the Panama Revolution, where every fact was immediately laid without reservation before Congress (and where, incidentally, what this country did was merely to give Panama the "right of self-determination" of which we have robbed Haiti and San Domingo). But even if I am wrong in my belief in the general principle of open diplomacy, and even if the Administration is right in its consistent policy of secret diplomacy as regards the mass of questions which I think ought to be made public, the fact remains that we have with armed force invaded, made war upon, and conquered the two small republics, have upset their governments, have denied them the right of self-determination, and have made democracy within their limits not merely unsafe but non-existent. As we have no published facts to go on, I cannot say whether their misconduct did or did not warrant such drastic action on our part. But on the assumption that the Administration acted properly, we are committed to the principle that some nations are not fit for self-determination, that democracy within their limits is a sham, and that their offenses against justice and right are such as to render interference by their more powerful and more civilized neighbors imperative. I do not doubt that this principle is true in some cases, whether or not it ought to be applied in these two particular cases. In any event our continuing action in San Domingo and Haiti makes it hypocritical for us to lay down any universal rules about self-determination for all nations. Moreover, our destruction of democracy in these two little republics, whether justifiable or not, makes it hypocritical of the Administration to profess that it purposes to "make democracy safe" throughout the world.

Our action also shows how utterly futile it would be to try to treat a league to enforce peace as a substitute for training our own strength for our own defense. Let China be the witness of the truth of this statement. China has actually realized the ideal of the pacifists who insist that unprepared-

ness for war secures peace. The ideal of the internationalists is that patriotism and the sense of nationalism are detrimental to humanity, and the ideal of the Socialists is that the capitalist régime is the only cause of popular misery. China is helpless to attack others or defend herself, her people have little sense of national unity and pride, and there are in China huge districts where there are no capitalists, and where the misery of the people is greater than in any country of the Occident. China's helplessness, instead of helping toward world peace, has been a positive encouragement to war and violence among her neighbors. Her future depends primarily not on herself but on what her neighbors choose to do. In spite of her size and her enormous population and resources she is helpless to do good to others because she is powerless to prevent others from doing evil to her. Her agreement to a league of nations or to a league to enforce peace would be worthless because she is unable to put strength back of justice either for herself or for any one else. The pacifists and internationalists, if they had their way, would turn the United States into the China of the Occident.

Let us put our trust neither in rhetoric nor hypocrisy, whether conscious or unconscious. Let us be honest with ourselves. Let us look the truth in the face. Let us remember what Germany, Austria, and Turkey have actually done. Let us remember what Russia has suffered from Germany and the worse than folly with which she has behaved to every one else. Let us remember what has happened to China, and what we have made happen to Haiti and San Domingo. Then let us trust for our salvation to a sound and intense American nationalism.

The horse-sense of the matter is that all agreements to further the cause of sound internationalism must be based on recognition of the fact that, as the world is actually constituted, our present prime need is this sound and intense American nationalism. The first essential of this sound nationalism is that the nation shall trust to its own fully prepared strength

for its own defense. So far as possible, its strength must also be used to secure justice for others and must never be used to wrong others. But unless we possess and prepare the strength, we can neither help ourselves nor others. Let us by all means go into any wise league or covenant among nations to abolish neutrality (for of course a league to enforce peace is merely another name for a league to abolish neutrality in every possible war). But let us first understand what we are promising, and count the cost and determine to keep our promises. Above all, let us treat any such agreement or covenant as a mere addition or supplement to and never as a substitute for the preparation in advance of our own armed power. Next time that we behave with the ignoble folly we have shown during the last four years we may not find allies to do what France and England and Italy have done for us. They have protected us with their navies and armies, their blood and their treasure, while we first refused to do anything and then slowly and reluctantly began to harden and make ready our giant but soft and lazy strength.

No paper scheme designed to secure peace without effort and safety without service and sacrifice will either make this country safe or enable it to do its international duty toward others.

An American citizen, personally unknown to me, writes me that his three sons entered the army at the outbreak of the war and that one of them, an aviator, was killed in battle at the front just two weeks before my own son was killed as he fought in the air. In his letter my correspondent adds:

"Would that my country might learn and never forget that not only the winning of peace now, but the maintenance of peace at all times, depends not fundamentally on treaties or leagues of nations, but on the readiness of citizens to fly to the aid of the wronged and to give their lives if need be that justice may be secured."

There speaks the true American spirit which holds fast alike to fearlessness and to wisdom, to gentleness and to iron reso-

lution. There speaks the spirit of that fervent nationalism which would forbid America either to inflict or to endure wrong.

The cult of absolute internationalism *as a substitute for nationalism* is the cult of a doctrine of fatal sterility. It had much vogue up to the beginning of this war among the professional "intellectuals," especially among bright, clever young college men of superficial cultivation. It was of real damage to these, and therefore it, to a certain extent, damaged the country; for it inevitably emasculates its sincere votaries, and therefore deprives their country of whatever aid they could otherwise give in the effort to build a vigorous civilization, based, as every civilization worth calling such must be, on a spirit of intense nationalism.

The damage done, because of the way such sham internationalism destroys the creative fibre of the intellectuals, is chiefly of negative character. It deprives the nation of a growth-force which ought to be a valuable asset. But it works in positively mischievous fashion among the powerful sinister men who are not sincere devotees of the cult, but who use it as a cloak behind which they war on all civilization, or else deliberately adopt a pretense of belief in it in order to weaken other nations and make them an easier prey. The Russian Bolsheviks embody the first of these attitudes. The German Socialists embody the second. In the United States the I. W. W. and all anarchists of that stamp take essentially the position of the Russian Bolsheviks; while the American Socialist party, which is a mere annex of Germany, follows the lead of the German Socialists.

There are a few high-minded Socialists in America who have refused to bow the knee to Baal, who denounce the German Socialists, and uphold the great war for human freedom against Germany. But they are very, very few. They have been contemptuously thrust aside by the Socialist party organization. Under the actual conditions their continued

assertion of their belief in "internationalism" has a merely pathetic significance.

The great majority of the Socialist, Bolshevik, and other big organizations which before the war had most loudly declared their allegiance to "internationalism," have during the last four years sinned against international fair dealing and justice more heavily than any other groups of men in the world, save only the Prussianized people of Germany and the rulers of Turkey. If sound internationalism means anything it means insisting upon justice between nations and condemning wrong done by one nation to another. But the German Socialists, who had loudly preached "internationalism," have eagerly supported the German autocracy in its course of international robbery and murder, and have cynically announced that they only preached pacifism to other nations in order to make them the easier victims of German militarism; the Socialist David announcing in the Reichstag: "Germany must squeeze her enemies with a pair of pinchers, the military pincher and the pacifist pincher. The German armies must continue to fight vigorously while the German Socialists encourage and stimulate pacifism among Germany's enemies." This was the real result of professional internationalism in Germany—a resolute attempt to convert all free nations into the vassals of Germany. Meanwhile, in America, in France, in England, and in Italy, either the majority or else a large minority of the avowed "international" Socialists were putting a premium on Germany's crimes against international justice by refusing to condemn them, by clamoring against war with Germany, and by clamoring for a peace which would leave Germany unpunished. Then in Russia the extreme professional internationalists, the Bolsheviks, got control. They instantly betrayed the cause of international right and justice, behaving with a venal contempt of decency which makes the Holy Alliance of the sovereigns who overthrew Napoleon seem respectable by comparison. They greedily sold themselves and their country for German gold, they aided the

German propaganda, they deserted their allies, the free nations, they tore Russia in pieces, they butchered their fellow countrymen by tens of thousands. They have done all in their power to fasten the German yoke on the whole world, and they have done it in the name of "internationalism!"

This is what happened in actual practice as soon as the "international" parties began to apply the "internationalism" they had so vehemently preached. The visionaries and enthusiasts among the internationalist leaders have been merely the tools of two sets of evil beings: the brutish creatures who wished to destroy all government, and especially all good government, because they are themselves fit only for the slime of the pit and hate the light and all who dwell in the light; and the astute sordid creatures who serve their own self-interest by serving Germany, whether for down-right pay or for other considerations, and who find that the easiest way to render such service is to weaken their own countries, and to debase civilization, by breaking down the spirit of patriotism and nationalism under pretense of supporting internationalism.

When these are the fruits of applied internationalism, how is it possible for any high-minded man, of reasonably good mind and reasonably sound training, to be misled by the false and diseased philosophy which has produced them? Internationalism seems an alluring pose to many a clever young college fellow. But it is a pose which, if persevered in, means that the man loses all power of aiding in the development of a really vigorous and therefore a really national civilization.

Fundamentally, as the world now is, promiscuity in patriotism is as unwholesome as promiscuity in domestic relations. The best world-citizen is the man who is first and foremost a good citizen of his own country. Within our national limits I distrust any man who is as fond of a stranger as he is of his own family; and in international matters I even more keenly distrust the man who cares for other nations as much as for his own. I do not trust persons whose affections are so diffuse. There are men who look upon their wives or mothers

or countries and upon other women and other countries with the same tepid equality of emotion. I do not regard these men as noble or broad-minded. I regard them as rotten.

This great war has offered the supreme test of the only kind of internationalism worth talking about, the sound internationalism which implies power and courage and disinterested willingness to sacrifice much in order to put down international wrong and establish international right. When the emergency test was thus applied the professional internationalists showed themselves a sorry crew. The really powerful men of intrigue and action who professed adherence to the doctrine have been the efficient and evil tools of German autocracy, militarism, and international tyranny. The milk-and-water intellectuals who prattled about the doctrine have been the timid and inefficient tools of the same foul masters.

The great war for international right and justice has been carried on by the men who were nationalists first, patriots first, Frenchmen or Englishmen or Italians or Americans first; and who were able to serve humanity at large precisely because they possessed the soul qualities which made them proudly devoted to their own nations, and proud to fight for their devotion. At this moment the menace of a peace which will consecrate German wrong-doing comes mainly from men who profess a wordy internationalism. It is the sound nationalists, the ardent patriots of the United States and of the free countries of western Europe, who are too proud not to fight to the end for Belgium and Servia and all the small, well-behaved nations who are primarily threatened by the German horror.

The cultivated American, the college-bred American, the American intellectual who professes the creed of internationalism has turned down the path that leads to moral emasculation. He has given adhesion to those half-truths that are the most destructive of falsehoods; and these half-truths eat out the moral fibre of mankind as plague-germs eat out the healthy tissue of the physical body. He practises a philosophy dear

to those who think idly, dear to those who live vividly, dear to those whose hearts are both cold and feeble.

Let us remember this when the peace comes. Don't trust the pacifists; they are the enemies of righteousness. Don't trust the professional internationalists; they are the enemies of nationalism and Americanism. Both of these groups appeal to all weaklings, illusionists, materialists, lukewarm Americans, and faddists of all the types that vitiate sound nationalism. Their leaders are plausible make-believe humanitarians, who crave a notoriety that flatters their own egotism, who often mislead amiable and well-meaning but short-sighted persons, who care for their own worthless carcasses too much to go anywhere near the front when fighting comes, but who in times of inert and slothful thinking, when war seems a remote possibility, can gain reputation by windy schemes which imply not the smallest self-sacrifice or service among those who advocate them, and which therefore appeal to all exponents of intellectual vagary, sentimental instability and eccentricity, and that sham altruism which seeks the cheap glory of words that betray deeds. All these elements combined may, when the people as a whole are not fully awake, betray this country into a course of folly for which when the hour of stern trial comes our bravest men will pay with blood and our bravest women with tears. For these illusionists do not pay with their own bodies for the dreadful errors into which they have led a nation. They strut through their time of triumph in the hours of ease, and when the hours of trial come they scatter instantly and let the nationalists, the old-fashioned patriots, the men and women who believe in the virile fighting virtues, accept the burden and carry the load, meet the dangers and make the sacrifices, and give themselves to and for the country. Nations are made, defended, and preserved, not by the illusionists, but by the men and women who practise the homely virtues in time of peace, and who in time of righteous war are ready to die, or to send those they love best to die, for a shining ideal.

This war, into which we helplessly drifted without preparation, and in which for the first year and a quarter we did so lamentably ill, nevertheless may mean the moral salvation of our people. It has lifted us out of the stew of sordid materialism, flavored with sham sentimentality. It has brought us face to face with the eternal verities which were manfully faced by our fathers in the days of Lincoln, by our forefathers in the days of Washington. It has taught us again to realize the worth of the great basic virtues, the fundamental virtues of manhood and womanhood, which enabled Washington and Lincoln and the men of Valley Forge and the men of Gettysburg to build and to maintain this Republic as the hope of the free nations of mankind. Those men were not internationalists. They were Americans. That is why we are proud to be their fellow countrymen. That is why they have been an inspiration to the best men of all other nations.

There is no limit to the greatness of the future before America, before our beloved land. But we can realize it only if we are Americans, if we are nationalists, with all the fervor of our hearts and all the wisdom of our brains. We can serve the world at all only if we serve America first and best. We must work along our own national lines in every field of achievement. We must feel in the very marrow of our being that our loyalty is due only to America, and that it is not diluted by loyalty for any other nation or all other nations on the face of the earth. Only thus shall we fit ourselves really to serve other nations, to refuse ourselves to wrong them, and to refuse to let them do wrong or suffer wrong.

THE GERMAN HORROR

THE Germans have themselves coined the words by which to describe and denounce their conduct in this war. These are the words *Schrecklichkeit* and *Kultur*. They use the word *Schrecklichkeit* accurately in telling of their deeds. Its literal translation is Horror. *Kultur* as used by them has become a term of derision for the outside world. It can be translated as culture only in a pathological sense. German "*Kultur*" is precisely analogous to a "culture" of cholera germs.

It sounds well, for the moment, to say that we war against the German Government but love the German people. Yet the antithesis thus drawn is misleading, and the effect of the statement is mischievous. It plays into the hands of the pro-Germans and pacifists, who at once ask: "Then why fight people we love?" Such a question is difficult to answer; and inasmuch as our going to war can be justified only—although amply—by admitting that we ought to have gone to war two years previously, it is unwise to furnish further ammunition to the foolish or sinister creatures who seek to embarrass the government by asking why we now make war for causes which during two years and a half we were told did not justify war.

Moreover, the statement, in addition to being unwise, is untrue. There is no such difference between the German Government and the German people as is implied. Unquestionably the hideous wrong-doing of the German Government to-day would have struck with horror and amazement the German people of fifty years ago—still more the men of '48, who had faith in the vision of justice and mercy. But the scientific,

efficient, and utterly ruthless and conscienceless administration which Prussia under the Hohenzollerns has imposed on all Germany during the last half-century has completely debauched the German people.

We must remember that serfage did not come to an end in Germany until as a sequel to the wars of Napoleon. The constitution of Prussian society is aristocratic, capitalistic, and militaristic to the core, and the guiding and ruling minority of this society has for a couple of centuries been saturated with the spirit of cynical and faithless brutality. It was this ruling minority which, after using for its own end the Tugendbund, and the self-sacrificing idealism of the German popular revolt against Napoleon, instantly betrayed its liberty-loving supporters when once Napoleon was overthrown.

Unfortunately for Germany, of the German leaders of the mid-nineteenth century those who were liberal were pacifist and impractical, and they could not make headway against the selfish and brutal but severely practical genius of the men who followed Bismarck. The very docility of the German masses, long accustomed to being ruled, made them easy victims of the domineering, materialistic, hard-headed, and coarse-tempered upper classes who rose to the surface as Germany became Prussianized. The autocracy was victorious at home and abroad; its rule was ruinous to the souls of the people, but it shrewdly took care of their bodies; and it completely subdued them to its will. By degrees the intellectuals became as repulsively indifferent to all morality that was not strictly tribal as the militarists themselves; and the masses blindly followed suit.

The attitude of the professors and literary men in this war has been as abhorrent, as utterly vile, as that of the brutes in uniform who have planned and carried out the wholesale murders, the obscene and loathsome cruelties and devastations, the huge slave-raids, and the carnivals of destruction in the conquered lands. The bombing of American hospitals and submarining of Canadian hospital-ships are merely minor in-

stances of what has been done. And the people as a whole have applauded the infamies committed and have enthusiastically supported the authors of these infamies.

In nations as in men there is apt to be a mixture of the Dr. Jekyll and the Mr. Hyde; and able leaders, according to the degree in which conscience and wisdom guide their ability, bring to the fore one or the other type of national characteristic. For half a century in Germany as a whole, and for a much longer time in Prussia, the effective national leadership has been such as to develop efficiency on a basis as fundamentally immoral, both from the international and the democratic standpoints, as that of ancient Assyria herself. The conscience of the German people has been thoroughly debauched. In consequence the German people now stand behind their government and heartily support it in every infamy it commits. The greatest good fortune that could befall the German people would be the crushing defeat of Germany. Until such a defeat occurs we can only say that, unless the German people separate themselves from and condemn and repudiate, instead of upholding, the German Government, all right-minded and courageous men must include them in a common condemnation.

Many of our politicians are vapidly fearful of admitting this obvious fact lest they offend the "German vote." Political expediency is right enough in its place; but not when it conflicts with vital national interest. Our people are not to be excused if they fail now to insist that the day for temporizing with avowedly foreign "votes" has passed. We have in this country room only for thoroughgoing Americans. We care not where the man's parents are from or where he himself was born, or what religion he professes, so long as he is in good faith and without reservation an American and nothing else. But if he tries to be half American and half something else, it is proof positive that he isn't an American at all and the sooner he gets out of the country the better. Some of the German-American painters who fear to commit

treason by openly championing "Deutschland," Germany, now try to compromise by preaching devotion to "Deushtum," that is, Germanism. This really represents no improvement. Germanism here at home is the foe of Americanism and those who believe in it should go back to Germany, where they belong. Germanism abroad is the foe not only of America but of all free and self-respecting nations. The hideous iniquities committed by Germany during the present war have been deliberately ordered by the German Government as part of its deliberate campaign of "Schrecklichkeit," of horror. They are not sporadic, they are systematic. Because of them Germany has earned the loathing felt only for criminals of utterly debased type. Vernon Kellogg, an eye-witness, in an *Atlantic Monthly* article, has shown that the German people stand behind their government and share its dreadful guilt.

AMERICA AND THE ALLIES OF GERMANY

I¹

THE attitude of the United States at this moment toward Germany's three vassal allies, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria, is a fifty-fifty attitude between peace and war. It is not honest war, neither is it honest neutrality. It is the attitude of the backwoodsman, who, seeking a black animal in his pasture at dusk and not knowing whether it was a bear or a calf, fired so as to hit it if it was a bear and miss it if it was a calf. Such marksmanship is never happy.

Bulgaria is now simply the tool of Germany and Turkey. I was formerly a stanch champion of Bulgaria, and would be again if she returned to her senses. But she now serves the devil, and shame be upon us if we do not treat her accordingly. No one can doubt that the Bulgarian Legation is an agency for German spies in this country. The Administration has published reports showing that for over a year, previous to our entry into the war, the German Embassy was the centre of the spies and dynamiters with whom Germany was already waging war against us. These papers show that Germany's allies are her mere tools and that Germany is withheld by no scruple from the commission of every conceivable treacherous intrigue and brutal outrage against us. Under these conditions it is a grave offense against our allies not to declare war on all of Germany's allies.

Turkey has been and is the tool of Germany, but Germany has permitted her on her own account to perpetrate massacres

¹ The Kansas City *Star*, November 20, 1917.

on the Armenian and Syrian Christians which renders it little short of an infamy now to remain at peace with her. It is hypocritical to express sympathy with the Armenians and appoint messages to be read in the churches about them and yet refuse to do the only thing that will permanently help them, which is to declare war on Turkey.

With Austria our present relations are less definable than our relations with any other power. No one can truthfully say exactly whether our attitude is one of peace or war. We have not declared war on Austria and yet we are furnishing money, coal, and munitions to Italy in order to enable her to fight Austria. If we really are at peace with Austria, we are flagrantly violating our duty as a neutral and we ought to be condemned in any international court. But if we are really at war, then we are committing the cardinal crime of hitting soft. If we had gone to war with Austria when we broke with Germany and had acted with proper energy, the disaster to Cadorna would probably not have occurred.

We are now taking part in the general council of our allies. The only way in which to make our part in the war thoroughly effective and our leadership felt to the utmost is whole-heartedly to throw ourself into the war on the side of all our allies and against all their and our enemies.

II ¹

In his recent message to Congress President Wilson stated that in order "to push our great war of freedom and justice to its righteous conclusion we must clear away with a thorough hand all impediments to success," and added: "The very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany, but not with her allies." He recommended that we declare war on Austria, and added: "The same logic would lead also to a declaration of war against Turkey

¹The Kansas City Star, December 7, 1917.

and Bulgaria." But inferentially and for reasons not apparent he advised against such action.

The President is entirely right in stating that our failure hitherto to declare war on the allies of Germany has been a very embarrassing obstacle to our success, and he is entirely right in advising a declaration of war against Austria. Incidentally I wish to point out that this is precisely what I insisted upon in these columns two months ago, and what I had elsewhere advocated six months ago, and it is worth while remembering that the Administration papers then assailed me for urging the course which, although there has not been the slightest change in the situation, the President now urges.

There was no justification whatever for failure to declare war on Austria when we declared war on Germany, and there is now no justification for failure to declare war on Bulgaria and Turkey when we declare war on Austria. There is no use in making four bites of a cherry. There is no use in going to war a little, but not much. The President has sent a message pledging support to Roumania, but it is worse than an empty form to send such a message unless we forthwith declare war on Bulgaria. The President has appointed a Sunday for the special expression of sympathy with Armenia, but such expression of sympathy is utterly meaningless unless we go to war with Turkey. The Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires must be broken up if we intend to make the world even moderately safe for democracy. There must be a revived Poland, taking in all the Poles of Austria, Prussia, and Russia; a greater Bohemia, taking in Moravia and the Slovaks; a great Jugo-Slav commonwealth, including Servia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, while the Roumanians in Hungary should become part of Roumania and the Italians in Austria part of Italy. The Turk must be driven from Europe and Christian and Arab freed. Only in this manner can we do justice to the subject peoples tyrannized over by the Germans, Magyars, and Turks. Only in this way can we remove the menace of German aggression, which has become a haunting

nightmare for all civilizations, especially in the case of small, well-behaved, liberty-loving peoples.

By declaring war on Germany's allies we do not commit ourselves to asking anything that is not just for our own allies. But by failing to declare war on Germany's allies we are ourselves guilty of injustice to our own allies.

III ¹

President Wilson has announced that we are in this war to make the world safe for democracy. Either this declaration was worse than empty rhetoric or we are in honor bound to make it good. Indeed, to prove false to it now is to be guilty of peculiarly offensive hypocrisy.

The only way to make the world safe for democracy is to free the people over whom Turkey and Austria tyrannize. Every day's delay in declaring war on Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria has represented and now represents a betrayal of democracy and of our allies.

When President Wilson says: "We do not wish in any way to rearrange the Austria-Hungarian Empire; it is no affair of ours what they do," he is engaged in the betrayal of democracy, and if his present words are to be taken seriously, then his declaration about making the world safe for democracy was false and empty rhetoric. Either one statement or the other must be unsparingly condemned by all honest men. In view of the last statement there is small wonder that the Austrian foreign minister says that "it is to our interest to nail down" the statement in question, because it abandons the proposal, or, as the Austrian minister phrases it, "the catch phrase," to allow all small states to determine their own destinies. No wonder that the leading Vienna paper contemptuously states that President Wilson wishes to act as an "European peace intermediary," being one of the leaders who

¹ The Kansas City Star, December 21, 1917.

"apparently consider a warlike noise the best overture to a peace conference."

There is also no wonder that the Czech Slovaks feel with intense bitterness about this betrayal. One of their papers in this country describes how loyally they have supported America and the Allies, and describes the dreadful butcheries and persecutions of their men, women, and children in Bohemia, and then asks whether it can be true that America now really proposes to keep them "under the merciless tyranny of the Huns."

This is precisely what President Wilson proposes when he says that it is no affair of ours to rearrange the Austria-Hungarian Empire, or, in other words, no affair of ours to free the Czechs, Slovaks, Jugo-Slavs, Italians, and Roumanians, who, together with the Poles, make up the majority of the Austria-Hungarian Empire and who are ground down by tyranny of the Germans and the Magyars.

The President's proposal represents three separate betrayals.

It is the betrayal of the Slavs of Austria, to whose cause our allies have pledged themselves and who form a democratic population oppressed by a militaristic autocracy.

It is the betrayal of democracy, because we abandon the majority who are our friends into the hands of a minority, who despise and hate us.

It is the betrayal of the free people everywhere to Germany, for Germany is now a world menace, chiefly because Austria and Turkey are her subject allies, and President Wilson's proposal is to leave them undisturbed.

A peace without a change of frontiers and without indemnification for brutal wrong-doing, a peace which does not create an independent and united Poland and a greater Bohemia and Jugo-Slovak commonwealth, as well as a greater Italy and a greater Roumania, and which does not free and indemnify Belgium, would leave every perilous problem of Europe unsolved. It would be timid and calamitous folly to refuse to touch the disputed questions which, if left unanswered, are absolutely certain to invite a future war.

SACRIFICE ON COLD ALTARS¹

A FRIEND, a California woman, writes me that there is staying with her a widow whose only son has been in the navy and has just died of influenza, and that the mother said:

"I gave my boy proudly to my country. I never held him back, even in my heart. But if only he had died with a gun in his hand—a little glory for him and a thought for me that my sacrifice had not been useless."

My correspondent continues:

"There must be so many mothers who feel that they have laid their sacrifice on cold altars. You have written much that will comfort the mothers whose sons have paid with their bodies in battle. Isn't there something you can say to help these other mothers?"

I felt a real pang when I received this letter, because the thought suggested had been in my mind, and yet I had failed to express it. It had happened that my own sons and nephews and young cousins and their close friends were where death or wounds came to them on the field of action. For example, on the day I received this letter we also got news that the closest school and college and army friend of my son, Quentin, who was killed, had himself just been killed. He was a man who had been promoted for a series of hazardous and successful battles with German airmen. He was as gentle and clean and lovable as a girl, yet terrible in his battle, and no more high and fearless soul ever fronted death joyously in the high heavens. My mind had, because of facts like this,

¹The Kansas City *Star*, November 13, 1918.

turned toward the deaths of the men on the firing-line; and I regret that I did not make it evident as I meant to make it, and but for this oversight would have made it, that all who have given their lives or the lives dearest to them in this war stand on an exact level of service and sacrifice and honor and glory.

The men who have died of pneumonia or fever in the hospitals, the men who have been killed in accidents on the airplane training-fields are as much heroes as those who were killed at the front, and their shining souls shall hereafter light up all to a clearer and greater view of the duties of life. The war is over now. The time of frightful losses among the men at the front and of heart-breaking anxiety for their mothers and wives, their sisters and sweethearts at home has passed. No great triumph is ever won save by the payment of the necessary cost. All of us who have stayed at home and all the others who have returned safe will, as long as life shall last, think of the men who died as having purchased for us and for our children's children, as long as this country shall last, a heritage so precious that even their precious blood was not too great a price to pay. Whether they fell in battle or how they died matters not at all, and it matters not what they were doing as long as, high of soul, they were doing their duty with all the strength and fervor of their natures.

The mother or the wife whose son or husband has died, whether in battle or by fever or in the accident inevitable in hurriedly preparing a modern army for war, must never feel that the sacrifice has been laid "on a cold altar." There is no gradation of honor among these gallant men and no essential gradation of service. They all died that we might live; our debt is to all of them, and we can pay it even personally only by striving so to live as to bring a little nearer the day when justice and mercy shall rule in our own homes and among the nations of the world.

SERVICE AND SELF-RESPECT

UNLESS democracy is based on the principle of service by everybody who claims the enjoyment of any right, it is not true democracy at all. The man who refuses to render, or is ashamed to render, the necessary service is not fit to live in a democracy. And the man who demands from another a service which he himself would esteem it dishonorable or unbecoming to render is to that extent not a true democrat. No man has a right to demand a service which he does not regard as honorable to render; nor has he a right to demand it unless he pays for it in some way, *the payment to include respect for the man who renders it*. Democracy must mean mutuality of service rendered, and of respect for the service rendered.

A leading Russian revolutionist (who is, of course, like every true friend of freedom, an opponent of the Bolsheviki) recently came to this country from Vladivostock. He traversed the Siberian railway. The porter on his train refused to get him hot water or to black his boots; stating with true Bolshevistic logic that democracy meant that nobody must do anything for any one else and that anyhow his union would turn him out if he rendered such service.

Now, this Bolsheviki porter was foolish with a folly that can only be induced by prolonged and excessive indulgence in Bolshevism or some American analogue. But the root trouble in producing his folly was the fact that under the old system the men whose boots the porter blacked looked down on him for blacking them. Are we entirely free from this attitude in America? Until we are we may as well make

up our minds that to just that extent we are providing for the growth of Bolshevism here. No man has a right to ask or accept any service unless under changed conditions he would feel that he could keep his entire self-respect while rendering it. Service which carries with it the slightest implication of social abasement should not be rendered.

For a number of years I lived on a ranch in the old-time cattle country; and I also visited at the house of a backwoods lumber-jack friend. In both places we lived under old-style American conditions. We all of us worked, and our social distinctions were essentially based on individual worth. We accepted as a matter of course that the difference in degree of service rendered ought at least roughly to correspond to the difference in reward. Each did most of the purely personal things for himself. But nobody thought of any necessary work as degrading.

I remember that once, when there was a lull in outdoor work, I endeavored to be useful in and around the house. I fed the pigs; and on an idle morning I blacked all the boots. Ordinarily our boots did not need blacking—most of them were not that kind. On this occasion I started, with an enthusiasm that outran my judgment, to black the dress boots of every one, of both sexes. I coated them with a thick, dull paste; only a few knobs became shiny; and the paste came off freely on what it touched. As a result I temporarily lost not merely the respect but even the affection of all the other inmates of the house. However, I did not lose caste because I had blacked the boots. I lost caste because I had blacked them badly. But I was allowed to continue feeding the pigs. The pigs were not so particular as the humans.

Now, there is no more reason for refusing to bring hot water or black boots or serve a dinner or make up a bed or cook or wash clothes (I have cooked and washed clothes often—but neither wisely nor well) than for refusing to shoe a horse, run a motor, brake a train, sell carpets, manage a bank, or run a farm. A few centuries back men of good

lineage felt that they lost caste if they were in trade or finance—in some countries they feel so to this day. In most civilized lands, however, the feeling has disappeared, and it never occurs to any one to look down on any one else because he sells things. Just the same feeling should obtain, and as we grow more civilized will obtain, about all other kinds of service. This applies to domestic service. It is as entirely right to employ housemaids, cooks, and gardeners as to employ lawyers, bankers, and business men or cashiers, factory-hands, and stenographers. But only on condition that we show the same respect to the individuals in one case as in the other cases!

Ultimately I hope that this respect will show itself in the forms of address, in the courtesy titles used, as well as the consideration shown, and the personal liberty expected and accorded. I am not demanding an instant change—I believe in evolution rather than revolution. But I am sure the change is possible and desirable; and even although it would be foolish and undesirable to set up the entirely new standard immediately, I hope we can work toward it. One of the most charming gentlewomen I know, the wife of a man of rare cultivation, ability, and public achievement, lives on the top floor of a tenement-house in a Western city. The rooms are comfortably and daintily furnished—with an abundance of books. In this household the maid was introduced to me as Miss So-and-so; and this is the ideal. Of course it cannot be realized until there has been much education *on both sides*. But it should be the ideal. All relations between employer and employee should be based on mutuality of respect and consideration; arrogance met by insolence, or an alternation of arrogance and insolence, offers but a poor substitute.

Mutuality of respect and consideration, service and a reward corresponding as nearly as may be to the service—these make up the ideal of democracy. Such an ideal is as far from the stupid bourbonism of reaction as it is from the vicious lunacy of the Bolsheviki or I. W. W. type. Perhaps the beginning of its realization may come through the introduction

of universal military training. Some months ago I went through the National army, or drafted men's, camp at Chillicothe, Ohio. There were some thirty thousand men in the camp—Americans of fine type, who were having the finest kind of education, for these camps are the true universities of American citizenship. An exceptionally efficient and far-seeing army officer, Major-General Glenn, was in command. He kept admirable discipline, he tolerated no slackness, no failure in duty of any kind, and by his initiative and personality he was overcoming all obstacles and making capital soldiers of his men. He showed with especial pride the Red Cross Community House. It is a huge building, very attractive, with a big restaurant, reading-rooms, and a dance-hall. When off duty officers and enlisted men come there and bring their friends of both sexes, with absolutely no restriction save, as General Glenn put it, that "every man is to act as a gentleman and every woman as a gentlewoman." (When we have universal service, and every man has served in the ranks, and representatives of every class have commissions, there will be merely the same distinction between sergeants and lieutenants as between captains and colonels.) In the restaurant the major-general and a private from the ranks may—sometimes do—sit at the same table. All come alike to the dances. All alike enjoy the privileges of the reading-rooms. All behave with self-respect. Each respects the others. When they go back to duty each does his allotted task in his allotted position, with eager and zealous efficiency, and with alert, orderly, and instant discipline. Surely this is the military ideal for a democracy—twenty years ago my own regiment realized just this ideal. Surely it also represents substantially the democratic ideal toward which we should strive in civil life. It is as far removed from the brutal and repulsive folly of Bolshevism on the one hand as from the intolerable autocratic tyranny of the Hohenzollern type on the other.

THE ROMANOFF SCYLLA AND THE BOLSHEVIST
CHARYBDIS

FROM the days when civilized man first began to strive for self-government and democracy success in this effort has depended primarily upon the ability to steer clear of extremes. For almost its entire length the course lies between Scylla and Charybdis; and the heated extremists who insist upon avoiding only one gulf of destruction invariably land in the other—and then take refuge in the meagre consolation afforded by denouncing as “inconsistent” the pilot who strives to avoid both. Throughout past history Liberty has always walked between the twin terrors of Tyranny and Anarchy. They have stalked like wolves beside her, with murder in their red eyes, ever ready to tear each other’s throats, but even more ready to rend in sunder Liberty herself. Always in the past there has been a monotonously recurrent cycle in the history of free states: Liberty has supplanted Tyranny, has gradually been supplanted by Anarchy, and has then seen the insupportable Anarchy finally overthrown and Tyranny re-established. Anarchy is always and everywhere the handmaiden of Tyranny and Liberty’s deadliest foe. No people can permanently remain free unless it possesses the stern self-control and resolution necessary to put down anarchy. Order without liberty and liberty without order are equally destructive; special privilege for the few and special privilege for the many are alike profoundly antisocial; the fact that unlimited individualism is ruinous, in no way alters the fact that absolute state ownership and regimentation spells ruin of a different kind. All of this ought to be trite to reason-

ably intelligent people—even if they are professional intellectuals—but in practice an endless insistence on these simple fundamental truths is endlessly necessary.

Before our eyes the unfortunate Russian nation furnishes an example on a gigantic scale of what to avoid in oscillating between extremes. The autocratic and bureaucratic despotism of the Romanoffs combined extreme tyranny with extreme inefficiency; and the Bolsheviks have turned the revolution into a veritable Witches' Sabbath of anarchy, plunder, murder, utterly faithless treachery and inefficiency carried to the verge of complete disintegration. Each side sought salvation by formulas which were condemned alike by common sense and common morality; and even these formulas were by their actions belied.

I do not say these things from any desire to speak ill of the Russian people. I am far too conscious of our own smug shortcoming during the World War to wish to comment harshly on a great people which has suffered terribly and which battled bravely for the three years during which we as a nation earned the curse of Meroz by the complacent and greedy selfishness with which we refused to come to the help of the Lord against the mighty—while our leaders with unctuous hypocrisy justified our course by deliberate falsehood and by a sham sentimentality which under the circumstances was nauseous. Our astute profiting by the valor of others saved us from paying the terrible penalty which Russia has paid; but from the standpoint of national and international morality our offense was well-nigh as rank as Russia's. Since the Bolsheviks rose to power Russia has betrayed her own honor and the cause of world democracy, and the liberties of well-behaved minorities within her own borders, and the right to liberty and self-government of small, well-behaved nations everywhere. But for the two years after the *Lusitania* was sunk, we continued to fawn on the blood-stained murderers of our people, we were false to ourselves and we were false to the cause of right and of liberty and democracy throughout

the world. Had we done our duty when the *Lusitania* was sunk, instead of following the advice of the apostles of greedy and peaceable infamy, the World War with its dreadful slaughter would long ago have been over. Incidentally Russia would have been saved from the abyss into which she has fallen, for in her inevitable revolution the Bolshevists would not have had the German support which has enabled them to wrench loose the very foundations of their country. No wonder poor Kerensky during his brief and perilous moment of leadership exclaimed that it was America's turn to do the fighting and endure the loss, for the three years' effort had strained Russia to the snapping-point.

Moreover, we can feel genuine sympathy with the immense mass of Russian peasants, who have never been given the chance to learn self-government or to discriminate between possibilities and impossibilities, and who in their ignorance and poverty, their suffering and bewilderment, must not be too heavily blamed for behaving as, when all is said, a very considerable fraction of our own people were anxious to behave. And during the last year or eighteen months our own government has behaved toward Russia with such short-sightedness and infirmity of purpose, such failure to adopt either or any of the possible courses until it was too late to get more than a fraction of the possible benefit, that it behooves us to be very charitable in our estimate of the Russian people. We did not give the Soviet governments the peaceful economic aid they asked, nor promise them military aid against Germany when it seemed likely that they would accept it. Yet we did not back the Czecho-Slovaks by putting a substantial army in Siberia early last spring. We ought then to have put at least fifty thousand of our troops, under Leonard Wood, into Siberia; and had we done so the battle-front would now have been between the Urals and Moscow. But our government wobbled and hesitated, finally sent a few thousand men, promised aid to the Czecho-Slovaks, and then said that after all we must not go as far west as the Urals. We failed to

put into Siberia a force comparable in size, and therefore in military efficiency, with the force put in by the Japanese; and we let the Japanese surpass us in military credit with the Siberian people and in laying the foundation for future economic relations with Siberia. We incurred the bitter hostility of the Soviet leaders; but we rendered very little real help to any one. We broke the peace; but we only went to war a little. We were neither wise and generous friends nor just and fearless foes. We never acted until after the best time for action had passed. We hit; but we hit softly.

Some part of the horror of famine and disease which now lies like a nightmare on the Russian people is due to our own failure to render efficient aid along any line in the past. This horror will grow worse during the winter that is opening; and surely it is our duty with generous and open-handed wisdom to bend every effort to sending help at the earliest possible moment to the starving Russian people.

It is absolutely imperative for the sake of this nation that we shall realize the lamentable calamities that have befallen Russia and shall condemn in sternest fashion the men in our own country who would invite such calamities for America. The reactionaries, the men whose only idea is to restore their power to the bourbons of wealth and politics, and obstinately to oppose all rational forward movements for the general betterment, would, if they had their way, bring to this country the ruin wrought by the régime of the Romanoffs in Russia. To withstand the sane movement for social and industrial justice is enormously to increase the likelihood that the movement will be turned into insane and sinister channels. And to oscillate between the sheer brutal greed of the haves and the sheer brutal greed of the have-nots means to plumb the depths of degradation. The soldiers who in this war have battled at the front against autocracy will not submit to the enthronement of privilege at home. They believe in discipline and leadership, they believe in the superior reward going to leaders like General Pershing and Admiral Sims; but they

believe that in time the difference in industrial reward between the good man at the top of the management class and the good man in the working-man's class ought roughly to correspond to the difference in reward between the general and the sergeant-major, the admiral and the warrant-officer.

We will not submit to privilege in the form of wealth. Just as little will we submit to the privilege of a mob. There are no worse enemies of America than the American Bolshevists and the crew of politicians who pander to them. We ought therefore clearly to understand what the Bolsheviki attempted in Russia and what after a year of power they have done for, or rather to, Russia. They utterly repudiated the idea of a democracy, where every man is guaranteed his rights and is limited in his power to do wrong. Their effort was to create a Marxian socialistic state, based on the class-conscious purpose of the proletariat to destroy and rob every other class. They oppressed and plundered impartially all former oppressors and wrong-doers and all former champions of fair dealing and liberty. They attacked the erstwhile corrupt bureaucrat or wealthy landowner who had neglected all his duties not a whit more venomously than they attacked the small shop-keeper or skilled mechanic or industrious farmer or thrifty working man whom, because he had saved some money and began to live decently, they denounced as having adopted "bourgeois standards." They definitely sought to realize the stark formulas of Marxian Socialism; and therefore they have made a genuine contribution for warning and prevention against destructive adventure of a similar character in our own land. The followers of Trotzky and Lenine, like the followers of Robespierre and Marat, have just one lesson to teach the American people: what to avoid.

In the peace treaty of last March the Russian Bolshevists and the German autocracy joined against the free nations. Anarchy and despotism joined against liberty. The representatives of the privilege of a proletarian mob and the representatives of the privilege of a plutocratic oligarchy struck hands

against the men who believe in no privilege. Germany suppressed Bolshevism and restored military order in the Russian provinces the Bolshevists ceded to her, and cynically supported Bolshevism in the rest of Russia precisely because Bolshevism is a cancerous growth; Germany recognizes that anarchy destroys freedom; therefore Germany encourages anarchy in every land to which she cannot apply her own iron despotism; for she wishes to destroy every nation that she cannot enslave. The Bolshevist leaders—it matters not whether they were sinister visionaries or the corrupted agents of Germany—played Germany's game in order to gain a respite during which they brought still further destruction to their own countrymen. They preached Socialism and practised anarchy—in their extreme forms the two always meet when the effort is made actually to apply them.

Surely this lesson will not be lost on the people of the United States, the keen, kindly, brave people, who are often slow to wake but who are far-sighted and resolute when once awake. We of the United States must set ourselves to the task of ordering our own household in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln. Therefore we must realize that the reactionaries among us are the worst foes of order, and the revolutionaries the worst foes of liberty; and unless we can preserve both order and liberty the Republic is doomed. At the moment the profiteers, and all men who make fortunes out of this war, represent the worst types of reactionary privilege; and on a level of evil with them stand all the various exponents of American Bolshevism. Prominent, although not always powerful, among the latter are the professional intellectuals, who vary from the soft-handed, noisily self-assertive frequenters of frowsy restaurants to the sissy socialists, the pink-tea and parlor Bolshevists, who support what they regard as "advanced" papers, and aspire to notoriety as make-believe "reds." I call these persons "intellectuals" in deference to the terminology of European politics; for they ape the silly, half-educated people, and the educated able people with a moral

or mental twist, who in almost every European country have found notoriety and excitement in fomenting revolutionary movements which they were utterly powerless to direct or control. Unless the term intellectual is to be construed as excluding either character or common sense, it can be applied to them only in irony. In our own vernacular they have been styled the exponents of "highbrow" Hearstism or Bolshevism. The sincere and well-meaning among them come in the class of those described by Don Marquis in his account of "Hermione and her little group of serious thinkers." Those in this class usually furnish the funds with which their more astute brethren carry on the propaganda and earn a shifty livelihood. Worthy soft-headed persons of both sexes—including some who edit magazines or write for them—think it smart and uplifting to describe with sympathy the Russian exile who wishes to smash our government because the "bourgeoisie" who love music can purchase reserved seats at a musical performance—I suppose they should be kept free for the "proletariat" to sit in ten at a time; or to eulogize the red-flag leaders of a "picnic of Socialist locals" whose "spiritually alive" faces, inflamed with "explosive ideas, big emotions, and winged visions" the particular member of Hermione's group of serious thinkers who chronicled them—and who evidently had not exercised the infinitesimal amount of thought necessary to realize just what these same explosive ideas of the red-flag gentry were at that moment producing in Russia.

I am referring to two articles chosen almost at random from respectable magazines. They represent a fad—a fad which is chiefly foolish, but which may become mischievous. The dilettante reds who gratify their vanity by this fad, play into the hands of the genuine reds, who are not dilettantes, and who resort to bomb-throwing, arson, robbery, and murder as a business and not as a fad. The leaders of the Germanized Socialists of this country are traitors to America and to mankind just exactly as are the Bolsheviks leaders in Russia; and some at least of the leaders of the Non-Partisan League

stand on the same footing. The leaders of the I. W. W. are no more victims of social wrong, are no more protesters against social evil, than are so many professional gunmen. There are plenty of honest, misled men among the rank and file of all these organizations; and plenty of wrongs from which these men suffer; but these men can be helped, and these wrongs remedied, only if we set our faces like flint against the evil leaders who would hurl our social organism into just such an abyss as that which has engulfed Russia.

So much for the false friends of liberty. We must equally abhor the false friends of order. Those who invoke order to prevent the righting of wrong are the ultimate friends of disorder. Our sternest effort should be exerted against the man of wealth and power who gets the wealth by harming others and uses the power without regard to the general welfare. In times ahead we must avoid equally both hardness of heart and softness of head. We must substitute the full performance of duty in a brotherly spirit, both for the mean and arrogant greed of the haves and for the mean and envious greed of the have-nots. At present Germany is dangerous as a huge man-eating beast is dangerous; Russia is dangerous as an infected and plague-stricken body is dangerous. We must guard against both. And within our own borders we must steer our great free Republic as far from the Romanoff Scylla as from the Bolshevist Charybdis.

PARLOR BOLSHEVISM

THE most powerful indictment of the corrupt and inefficient tyranny of the Romanoffs, or rather of the Russian autocracy, is that it produced Bolshevism. Dreadful though it is that despotism should ruin men's bodies, it is worse that it should ruin men's souls. Vast physical distress was caused by the centuries of despotism which Russia owed to the fact that six hundred years ago she lacked military ability to repel the Mongol warriors. But this is outweighed by the dreadful qualities of soul which the despotism produced in those who suffered under it.

We in America have a direct interest in this evil phenomenon. From the tyranny in Russia great numbers of Russians fled hither. Many of these—Mary Antin is a type—were eminently fit to live in a land which, with all its faults, is a land of freedom and of opportunity; and these gave much to the land which gave them so much. But many have been merely sources of poisonous corruption to the nation which gave them an asylum. Many of the Bolshevist exiles to this land returned to Russia when the revolution broke out, and most of these were filled with venom for this country. The prime cause lay not in our shortcomings—many though these are—but in their own corroded souls. This moral corrosion made them preach and practise the gospel of hatred and malice, not only toward all men of wealth whether they did good or evil, but toward all honest, hardworking, decent-living men and women who were not consumed by mean envy of others.

These Russian exiles were not asked to come here. They came here so as to be free from persecution and to better them-

selves. They owe this country everything. But the only emotions aroused in the Bolshevik type are mean hatred, mean desire to slander, and a self-pity both mean and morbid. The moral and mental attitude it introduces into this country is much more permanently mischievous than the bubonic plague, and against it we should erect a far more rigorous quarantine. The oppressed of other lands who have developed this kind of character should be kept out of this land at all hazards; and our immigration laws should promptly be changed accordingly. There are plenty of sordid and arrogant capitalists in this land; but their most harmful and unlovely traits are no worse and no more dangerous than those of this particular type of professional proletarian. In its full development it produces the Lenines and Trotskys who have brought Russia to the brink of the abyss, and the Hillquits and Victor Bergers and Eastmans who would lead our people into a complete ruin, of which one item would be subjection to the German autocracy. The most sordid capitalists and reactionaries can do no more harm to this country than these men, if given power, would do. The worst bourbons of politics and business stand no lower than these leaders of the American Bolsheviks, of the I. W. W., the Germanized Socialists, the anarchists, and all the squalid crew who preach the gospel of envy and hatred, who preach a class war which, when preaching is translated into action, expresses itself through the bomb and the torch.

These men are encouraged, and our own moral fibre is weakened, by the parlor or pink-tea or sissy Bolshevism dear to the hearts of so many of our people who like to think of themselves as intellectuals, and who are, perhaps, particularly apt to find expression for their views in *The New Republic*.¹

¹ The natural sympathy of Germanism for Bolshevism—whether the gutter Bolshevism beloved by the Hearst publications, or the parlor Bolshevism inculcated by *The New Republic*—was incidentally and amusingly brought out by Assistant Attorney-General Becker in the course of an investigation among the interned enemy aliens at Fort Oglethorpe. One German testified that the most widely read periodicals among the interned Germans were "*The Nation* of New York and *The New Republic*. . . . [The Ger-

Most certainly, hard indifference to the conditions and opportunities of the immigrant is a hideous wrong; but it is not bettered by a dilettante sentimentalism on behalf of those among the immigrants who are of semicriminal type, whether or not they seek to mask their depravity by claiming to be the victims of social oppression. We must never again view the immigrant merely as a labor unit. We must think of him only as a future citizen, whose children are to share with our children the heritage of this land. We must do for him everything that is right; and we must tolerate from him nothing that is wrong.

I have spoken of immigrants of Bolshevik type. As a contrast I give the story of two Americans of the best American type. Otto Raphael was born on the East Side of New York, of parents who came from Russia. While I was police commissioner my attention was attracted to him by his saving a woman and a couple of children at a fire; I found him at the Bowery branch of the Y. M. C. A., although he is himself a Jew. He came on the police force. He did not spend his time in the indulgence of hate and envy toward those who were better off. He did his work as a policeman up to the handle, and he used his salary chiefly to help out his family. He brought over one or two kinsfolk from Russia; he educated a sister; he enabled a brother to study for and become a doctor. He is now a lieutenant of police. At the same time that he entered the force an ex-man-of-war's man, who had served his time in the United States navy, also entered the force. His name was Edward Bourke; he is another American of the best type. His parents were born in Ireland. When the Spanish War came he got a holiday for six months, re-entered the navy, and served as captain of a

mans] make only a few subscriptions . . . for fear that the government censor would catch on to the popularity of *The Nation* and *The New Republic*." Many of our professional intellectuals have made a contemptible showing in this war. At the "American Sociological Congress," which met in December, 1915, the speakers in large proportion seemed to be divided between those engaged in inane pacifist prattle and those engaged in downright sinister German propaganda.—T. R.

gun. He is a hard man physically; I doubt if he can be hurt by anything that hasn't an edge to it. He is now a captain of police.

Bourke and Raphael were appointed on their merits; I wanted to get the best possible men for the force, and they owed me gratitude for putting them there only to the extent that I owed them gratitude for being the kind of men I wanted. In other words, they owed me nothing. But they have chosen to remain very stanch friends, in fair weather and foul weather. When we entered the Great War, both went into training to get in the division I had asked permission to raise; each fitting himself for special work—Bourke handling machine-guns, while Raphael's particular line I for the moment forget. Both would have held commissions under me if I had been allowed to raise troops.

These two men represent Americanism as opposed to Bolshevism. They did not wallow in the emotional mud-bath, which consists of one part morbid self-pity and three parts envy, hatred, and malice toward others—a mixture equally maudlin and sinister. They didn't pity themselves at all. They didn't hate others. They merely resolved to do as well as others. And they did so. They were men.

I do not mean that these two men can be taken as typical of the whole mass. They were exceptions. They had power of initiative and of leadership. It is our duty to help make conditions such that life will be fairer and easier for all, and the highways of opportunity kept more open than hitherto. But our aim can be reached by encouraging the essentially American activities and attitude shown by these two men, and not by practising parlor Bolshevism ourselves or encouraging applied and murderous Bolshevism among immigrants.

The Bolsheviks have no lesson to teach America except what to avoid. They have betrayed democracy in America, England, and France. They have plunged Russia into ruin. They fatuously hoped by this betrayal of their allies to make peace with the German militaristic autocracy, and then to be-

tray it in turn. But the Germans were just as false, cunning, and treacherous, and a thousand times more able; and having made the Bolsheviki publish themselves to the world as traitors to liberty, they have now proceeded to trample them under foot. And the Bolsheviki showed willingness only to fight their fellow Russians; they were helpless before the German invaders.

Their chief energies have been devoted to what Lenine calls "internal war." They have announced, as reported in the press, that they intend to confiscate all the property of the "small shopkeepers, more or less well-to-do peasants, and workers who have submitted to a bourgeois point of view"—that is, thrifty skilled mechanics. In other words, their hostility is now concentrated on the analogues of American farmers, small shopkeepers, carpenters, steel puddlers, engineers, trainmen, blacksmiths, clerks, deep-sea fishermen, and the like. They announced at one time (before they finally and definitely threw Russia under the German yoke) that these men and their wives were to be employed to dig trenches, presumably because they thought they were unused to this form of labor, the announcement reading: "All members of the bourgeois class, the women as well as the men, must enter these battalions under surveillance of the Red Guard and in case of resistance must be shot." No more utter tyranny existed under the Romanoffs. They purpose to stamp out of existence all the men of leadership and of special value, all the men whose activities do most to prevent the commonwealth from sinking to that level of savagery on which the tonguey, supple, and either immoral or crack-brained anarchist leaders would land their deluded followers.

The precise analogues of these Russian leaders preach similar doctrines and a similar class war here in the United States. They are permitted to do so because it is our wise principle not to interfere with free speech by prohibiting the preaching even of moral treason until the narrow limits of legal treason are reached; and our people as a whole regard them with good-

humored and rather ignorant indifference. But there should be no mistake as to the fact that the preaching of this kind of class war has nothing in common with ordinary political discussion or party differences. The attempt to translate it into serious action would mean real war—and in a healthy country like ours the lunatic fringe would not come off first best in such event. And in such event if the real Bolsheviks were successful the parlor Bolsheviks would be among the first to be destroyed—exactly as the Petit Trianon disciples of Rousseau were among the first to fall when the red terror swept France. And if (as would surely happen) the real Bolsheviks were not successful, the parlor Bolsheviks would owe their shivering safety to the applied and practical Americanism of men like Bourke and Raphael.

It is the Bourkes and Raphaels and the men of like quality in every section of our country and in every walk of life, whatever their creed and whatever their ancestry, who stand for the real and practical Americanism; and it is in their hands that the future of this country lies.

BOLSHEVISM AND APPLIED ANTI-BOLSHEVISM ¹

AT this moment the Bolsheviki are the most dangerous enemies of Russia and of democracy and the most serviceable tools of the militaristic and capitalistic German autocracy. Their American representatives, who range from the Germanized Socialists, the leaders of the Non-Partisan League, the professional pacifists and so-called internationalists, to the I. W. W. and anarchists and bomb-throwers and dynamiters and "direct action" men generally, lack only the power, but not the will, to play a similar part.

This seems an incongruous assembly. But every Bolshevik movement always contains crack-brained fanatics and foolish, simple people cheek by jowl with the sinister advocates of "direct action." It is folly to show these "direct action" people any consideration. Their purpose is to inspire terror by murder. They use the term "direct action," but they mean murder. Blatant anarchists of this type are miscreants and criminals. We ought to stamp them out by exerting the full power of the law in the sternest and most vigorous fashion against them and their sympathizers before, and not merely after, murder is committed. All radical Democrats whose democracy is genuine must join in relentless opposition to these men, who are at this moment rather more dangerous foes to liberty and democracy in the United States than the worst Bourbon reactionaries themselves.

In Russia we see before our eyes how professed antimilitarists and peace-at-any-price men may become the especial apostles of murder. The Russian Bolsheviks are the paid

¹ *The Outlook*, September 18, 1918.

or unpaid allies of Prussian autocracy. Similarly, there is often an underhanded agreement in this country between the corrupt capitalist and the lawless demagogue or agitator; the kind of agreement or common action that existed at one time in San Francisco between corrupt politicians and capitalists and violent labor leaders, as shown by Francis Heney in the famous graft prosecutions.

Most certainly we must not forget our indignation against the profiteers or the exploiting capitalists in our indignation against the "direct action" men. Sometimes it is a profiteering corporation which was most to blame. Elsewhere it is the lawless leaders of misled workmen. We should act with as stern and prompt efficiency against one type of wrong-doer as against the other, and *then we should remedy the conditions which cause the wrong-doing*. The worst possible course is to refuse to punish the lawlessness of the I. W. W. and yet to leave unremedied the wrongs done by exploiting and profiteering capitalism. Put down the lawlessness and remedy the wrongs.

Every wise movement for progress in our country must be as free from taint of subserviency to the red-flag gentry as from taint of subserviency to predatory and labor-exploiting or farm-exploiting capitalism.

Nothing is easier than to make rhetorical addresses on behalf of humanity and to write little uplift and social reform books and pamphlets and articles; but what counts is reducing the principles to practice by the service test, the test of trial and error, the test which has to take into account actual conditions and the unpleasant, no less than the pleasant, facts of human nature; and this is very hard.

Each of us can probably furnish some illuminating illustrations of these truths out of his own experience. Here is one such. The country region in which I live during the last forty years has changed from an almost purely farming, fishing, and oystering neighborhood into one where city families of moderate means and some families of wealth spend their

summers. When I was a boy, there were so few places with a shore front that they were negligible. The owners of these few places built docks as a matter of course. Clam-diggers went along the shores as they pleased. Farmers occasionally came down to the shore in summer for clam-bakes and bathing picnics. Oystermen and seiners or duckers kept their boats near their own docks or those of their friends. The shore was but little used by all of these persons taken together; and nobody looked far enough ahead to provide against trouble in the future.

A railway came in. City people bought places with a shore front. Gradually almost all the shore front was taken up by adjacent owners, who naturally and properly wished access to the water, and built docks. They used the shore continually whereas the clammers and picnickers used it very little. Many of them in no way interfered with the clammers. A few did, showing a disregard or ignorance of what they were doing. The picnickers were inevitably hampered, largely because some of them behaved—as Professor Hornaday, of the New York Zoo, remarked of certain slovenly and selfish holiday-makers—“like so many little pigs,” leaving a filthy litter behind them; and without some kind of overseer or police arrangement it was impossible to discriminate between the well-behaved and the ill-behaved.

For years the townspeople declined to take any action to secure the just rights which a few of them had occasionally enjoyed. Then the selfish misconduct of one or two property-owners who sought to deny all proper access to their beaches roused a feeling which manifested itself in a foolish and vicious effort—at one time a mob effort—to destroy the docks and thereby prevent the property-owners themselves from having any means of access to their sailboats. The motive seemed to be less to secure their own rights than to interfere with those of whom they were jealous. Recourse to the law finally settled the right of the property-owners to these docks and their duty to keep openings in the docks so that the clammers

and the rare wayfarers along the beach would not be interfered with.

But this did not help the picnickers and those farmers or villagers who occasionally wished to come to the beach for bathing or boating. A few public-spirited persons, therefore, started a movement for a park, with a long stretch of beach, on which public and private boat-houses and bath-houses could be erected. Various rich and well-to-do persons, none of whom would ever have used the park, agreed to furnish half the money if the town would furnish the other half. It was voted on at the next election.

I rode down to the polls with a friend, a hired man—a good, upright, hard-working citizen, who lives some miles away from the water, who owns a small property, and is therefore a small taxpayer. After voting I found that our two votes had neutralized each other: he voted against the park; and the park proposition was beaten *by the votes of the smaller taxpayers who lived inland and from among whom the chief beneficiaries of the park would have come*. These men had felt vaguely jealous of the richer property-owners near the water, and had sympathized with the movement to interfere with them; but they were not willing to incur the small expense necessary in order to establish such collective ownership of a portion of the water-front as would enable them to enjoy their rights along it.

Now the people who thus voted were my friends and neighbors; good people in all the ordinary relations of life. The trouble was that they had not developed the look-ahead power—very few of us have developed it to the degree that assuredly will be necessary in this country. Therefore they unconsciously played into the hands, first, of those few property-owners who selfishly and arrogantly ignored the rights of others, and afterward of the few persons of Bolsheviki type whose actions were dictated primarily by a kind of malevolent jealousy, who cared far less to benefit those who were not well off than to do

something that would be distasteful and injurious to those who were better off.

The exact antithesis to this type of short-sightedness is found in such a development as the wonderful Palisades Park, adjoining New York City. In 1900, in order to save the beauty of the Palisades and prevent their being exploited by private greed, the New York legislature created an unpaid commission, of which George W. Perkins was made head and of which he has been the guiding spirit ever since. They started with an appropriation of ten thousand dollars. They secured the co-operation of New Jersey with New York State. They secured public appropriations of about three millions and public contributions of about four millions. They have worked incessantly for years without a dollar's reward for themselves. They gradually developed the most extraordinary park of the kind in the world. It occupies a space of over twenty square miles. All the natural beauties have been preserved. There are fine automobile drives. But the main effort has been to make the park of use to persons of small or moderate means who would pay merely what their privileges actually cost. There are tents and shanties by beautiful lakes in which families can spend a fortnight and enjoy wonderful scenery and excellent fishing. There is a working-girls' summer home in which working girls can get a fortnight's holiday with all kinds of enjoyment for fourteen dollars—the ordinary amount for a vacation with pay. On the narrow beach at the foot of the Palisades there are in summer camped many thousands of people, in tents, who cross the river to the city by jitney-boats so that the breadwinner can go back and forth. The picturesque Bear Mountain Inn, where excellent food is given at cost prices, is visited by thousands of people every Sunday during the season; all of the privileges, such as boating on the little lake near by, are run by the public authorities, without profit for any one.

There could be no better illustration of efficient collective action of immense benefit to the people as a whole; collective

action by the representatives of the public under the lead of public-spirited private citizens keenly alive to their duties, privileges, and opportunities as members of the American Commonwealth. Such action represents applied anti-Bolshevism.

PREPAREDNESS FOR PEACE¹

WHEN we have closed the giant war we must prepare for the giant tasks of peace. First and foremost we should act on Washington's advice, and in time of peace prepare against war so that never again shall we be caught in such humiliating inability to defend ourselves and assert our rights as has been the case during the last four years. In a democracy such preparation should be the duty of the whole people and not merely of a part of the people. There should be universal obligatory military training in the field for a period of say six months of all young men between the ages of nineteen and twenty-one. I wish there could be industrial training also; but the six months period would have to be lengthened if any serious industrial training is to be added to the military training. Such training would instil into our people a fervent and intense Americanism, which would forever free us from the menace of Bolshevism and all its American variety, from the frank homicidal march of the I. W. W. to the sinister anti-Americanism of the Germanized socialistic party.

The preparation for the tasks of peace must be in the interest of all our people, of those who dwell in the open country and of those who dwell in the cities; of all men who live honestly and toil with head or hands; and of all women just as much as of all men. Often there can be identity of function

¹ From speech delivered at the Republican State Convention at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., July 18, 1918. The first part of the speech which dealt with Americanism and the necessity of putting the full power of the Nation into the war is omitted here because it duplicates in large part other material in this volume.

between men and women; generally there cannot be; but there must always be full equality of right. Women have the vote in this State. They should be given it at once in the nation at large. And in the councils of this State, and in the councils of our party, women should be admitted to their share of the direction on an exact equality with the men, and wherever it is wisely possible their judgment and directive power should be utilized in association with men rather than separately.

In our industrial activities, alike of farmer, wage-worker, and business man, our aim should be co-operation among ourselves, and control by the State to the degree necessary, but not beyond the degree necessary, in order to prevent tyranny and yet to encourage and reward individual excellence. Business men should be permitted to co-operate and combine, subject to such regulation and control by the government as will prevent injustice and sharp dealing among themselves, or toward their employees, or as regards outsiders and the general public. There should be no penalizing of a business merely because of its size; although of course there is peculiar need of supervision of big business. Government ownership should be avoided wherever possible; our purpose should be to steer between the anarchy of unregulated individualism and the deadening formalism and inefficiency of wide-spread State ownership. From time to time it has been found, and will be found, necessary for the government to own and run certain businesses, the uninterrupted prosecution of which is necessary to the public welfare and which cannot be adequately controlled in any other way, but normally this is as inadvisable as to permit such business concerns to be free from all government supervision and direction. Normally, and save where the necessity is clearly shown, our aim should be to encourage and stimulate private action and co-operation, subject to government control.

Profiteering out of the war should be stopped; but it is more common sense to say that proper profit-making should be encouraged, for, unless there is a profit, the business cannot

run, labor cannot be paid, and neither the public nor the government can be served. And the misery into which this country was plunged before our business was artificially stimulated by the outbreak of the World War shows the need of a protective tariff.

Labor likewise should have full right to co-operate and combine and full right to collective bargaining and collective action, subject always, as in the case of capital, to the paramount general interest of the public, of the Commonwealth; and the prime feature of this paramount general interest is that each man shall do justice and shall receive justice. Hereafter in a very real sense labor should be treated, both as regards conditions of work and conditions of reward, as a partner in the enterprises in which he is associated; housing and living conditions must be favorable; effort must be made to see that the work is interesting, there must be insurance against old age, sickness, and involuntary unemployment; and a share in the money reward for increased business success, whether it comes from efficiency shown in speeding up or from labor-saving machinery or from any other cause. And on the other side there must be no restriction of output, no levelling down, no failure by the man to exert his full powers, and to receive the full reward to which his individual excellence entitles him, and no failure to recognize that unless there is a proper reward for the capital invested and for the management provided, absolute industrial disaster will result to every human being in this country.

The welfare of the farmer stands as the bed-rock welfare of the entire Commonwealth. Hitherto he has not received the full share of industrial reward and benefit to which he is entitled. He can receive it only as the result of organization and co-operation. Along certain lines the government must itself co-operate with him; but normally most can be accomplished by co-operation among the farmers themselves, in marketing their products, in buying certain things which they particularly need, and in joint action along many lines. The

States can wisely supplement such work of co-operation, but most of such work it cannot with wisdom itself undertake.

These, in brief outline, are the tasks of rebuilding and of upbuilding which are before us when peace comes. But the prime needs now are the needs of war. We must insist that this whole country be unified; nationalized, Americanized, and that no division of our American loyalty and American citizenship along the lines of national origin or of adherence to an alien flag be for one instant tolerated. We must insist upon speeding up the war, so that our giant strength may be fully utilized, and next year our armies overseas at least equal in the aggregate to the German armies. We must refuse any peace except the peace of overwhelming victory, a peace which will guarantee us against the threat of German world dominion by securing to every well-behaved civilized power its real and complete freedom.

THE DANGERS OF A PREMATURE PEACE¹

AS now seems likely, if the great German drive fails, it is at least possible that, directly or indirectly, the Germans will then start a peace drive. In such case they will probably endeavor to make such seeming concessions as to put a premium upon pacifist agitation for peace in the free countries of the West against which they are fighting. To yield to such peace proposals would be fraught with the greatest danger to the Allies, and especially to our own country in the future.

Let us never forget that no promise Germany makes can be trusted. The *kultur* developed under the Hohenzollerns rests upon shameless treachery and duplicity no less than upon ruthless violence and barbarity.

For example, there are strong indications that Germany may be prepared, if she now fails on the western front, to abandon all that for which she has fought on her western front, provided that in Middle Europe and in the East there is no interference with her. In other words, she would be prepared to give back Alsace and Lorraine to France, to give Italian Austria to Italy, to give Luxemburg to Belgium, and to let the Allies keep the colonies they have conquered, on condition that her dominance in Russia and in the Balkans, her dominance of the subject peoples of Austria through the Austrian Hapsburgs, and her dominance of western Asia through her vassal state, Turkey, should be left undisturbed. To the average American, and probably to the average Englishman and Frenchman, there is much that is alluring in such a programme. It

¹ The Kansas City *Star*, May 12, 1918.

might be urged as a method of stopping the frightful slaughter of war, while securing every purpose for which the free peoples who still fight are fighting. Yet it would be infinitely better that this war were carried on to the point of exhaustion than that we yield to such terms.

Such terms would mean the definite establishment of Germany's military ascendancy on a scale never hitherto approached in the civilized world. It would mean that perhaps within a dozen years, certainly within the lifetime of the very men now fighting this war, this country and the other free countries would have to choose between bowing* their necks to the German yoke or else going into another war under conditions far more disadvantageous to them.

A premature and inconclusive peace now would spell ruin for the world, just as in 1864 a premature and inconclusive peace would have spelled ruin to the United States, and in the present instance the United States would share the ruin of the rest of the free peoples of mankind.

On the face of it Germany would not become a giant empire. Just exactly as on the face of it at present Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria call themselves simply four allied nations, standing on equal terms. But in reality those four powers are merely Germany and her three vassal states, whose military and economic and political powers are all disposed of by the Hohenzollerns. A peace such as that above outlined would leave these as really one huge empire. The population of these four countries, plus the populations of Russian regions recently annexed by Germany, is over two hundred millions. This population would be directed and dominated by the able, powerful, and utterly brutal and unscrupulous German governing class, which the very fact of the peace would put in the saddle, and the huge empire thus dominated and directed would become a greater menace to the free peoples than anything known for the last thousand years.

Short-sighted people will say that this power would only menace Asia, and therefore that we need feel no concern about

it. There could be no error greater or more lamentable. Twenty years hence by mere mass and growth Germany would dominate the western European powers that have now fought her. This would mean that the United States would be left as her victim.

In the first place, she would at once trample the Monroe Doctrine under foot, and treat tropical and south temperate America as her fields for exploitation, domination, and conquest. In the next place, she would surely trample this country under foot and bleed us white, doing to us on a gigantic scale what she has done to Belgium. If such a peace as is above described were at this time made, the United States could by no possibility escape the fate of Belgium and of the Russian territories taken by Germany unless we ourselves became a powerful militarist state with every democratic principle subordinated to the one necessity of turning this nation into a huge armed camp—I do not mean an armed nation, as Switzerland is armed, and as I believe this country ought to be armed. I mean a nation whose sons, every one of them, would have to serve from three to five years in the army, and whose whole activities, external and internal, would be conditioned by the one fact of the necessity of making head, single-handed, against Germany.

I very strongly believe that never again should we be caught unprepared as we have been caught unprepared this time. I believe that all our young men should be trained to arms as the Swiss are trained. But I would regard it as an unspeakable calamity for this nation to have to turn its whole energies into the kind of exaggerated militarism which under such circumstances would alone avail for self-defense.

The military power of Germany must be brought low. The subject nations of Austria, the Balkans, and western Asia must be freed. We ought not to refrain an hour longer from going to war with Turkey and Bulgaria. They are part of Germany's military strength. They represent some of the most cruel tyrannies over subject peoples for which Germany stands.

It is idle for us to pretend sympathy with the Armenians unless we war on Turkey, which, with Germany's assent, has well-nigh crushed the Armenians out of existence.

When President Wilson stated that this war was waged to make democracy safe throughout the world, he properly and definitely committed the American people to the principles above enunciated, and for the American people to accept less than their President has thus announced that he would insist upon would be unworthy. The President has also said that "there is therefore but one response possible for us. Force—force to the utmost—force without stint or limit—the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust."

The American people must support President Wilson unflinchingly in the stand to which he is thus committed and must resolutely refuse to accept any other position. We must guard against any slackening of effort. We must refuse to accept any premature peace or any peace other than the peace of overwhelming victory.

We must secure such complete freedom for the peoples of central Europe and western Asia as will shatter forever the threat of German world domination. Our honorable obligations to our allies, our loyalty to our own national principles, the need to protect our American neighbors, the need to defend our own land and people, and our hopes for the peace and happiness of our children's children all forbid us to accept an ignoble and inconclusive peace.

THE TERMS OF PEACE¹

LAFAYETTE DAY commemorates the services rendered to America in the Revolution by France. I wish to insist with all possible emphasis that in the present war France and England and Italy and the other allies have rendered us similar services. The French at the battle of the Marne four years ago, and at Verdun, and the British at Ypres—in short, the French, the English, the Italians, the Belgians, the Servians have been fighting for us when they were fighting for themselves. Our army on the other side is now repaying in part our debt, and next year we have every reason to hope, and we must insist, that the fighting army in France from the United States shall surpass in numbers the fighting army in France of either France or England. It is now time—and it long has been time—for America to bear her full share of the common burden, the burden borne by all the allies in this great war for liberty and justice.

We must win the war as speedily as possible. But we must set ourselves to fight it through no matter how long it takes, with the resolute determination to accept no peace until, no matter at what cost, we win the peace of overwhelming victory. The peace that we win must guarantee full reparation for the awful cost of life and treasure which the Prussianized Germany of the Hohenzollerns has inflicted on the entire world; and this reparation must take the form of action that will render it impossible for Germany to repeat her colossal wrongdoing. Germany has been able to wage this fight for world

¹ Address at Lafayette Day exercises, Aldermanic Chambers, New York City, September 6, 1918.

dominion because she has subdued to her purpose her vassal allies, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria. Servia and Roumania must have restored to them what Bulgaria has taken from them. The Austrian and Turkish Empires must both be broken up, all the subject peoples liberated, and the Turk driven from Europe. We do not intend that German or Magyar shall be oppressed by others, but neither do we intend that they shall oppress and domineer over others. France must receive back Alsace and Lorraine. Belgium must be restored and indemnified. Italian Austria must be restored to Italy, and Roumanian Hungary to Roumania. The heroic Czech-Slovaks must be made into an independent commonwealth. The southern Slavs must be united in a great Jugo-Slav commonwealth. Poland as a genuinely independent commonwealth must receive back Austrian and Prussian Poland, as well as Russian Poland, and have her coast-line on the Baltic. Lithuania, the Baltic provinces of Russia, Ukrania, and Finland must be guaranteed their independence, and no part of the ancient empire of Russia left under the German yoke, or subject in any way to German influence. Northern Schleswig should go back to the Danes. Britain and Japan should keep the colonies they have conquered. Armenia must be freed, Palestine made a Jewish state, the Greeks guaranteed their rights, and the Syrians liberated—all of them, Mohammedans, Jews, Druses, and Christians, being guaranteed an equal liberty of religious belief, and required to work out their independence on the basis of equal political and civil rights for all creeds.

It is sometimes announced that part of the peace agreement must be a league of nations, which will avert all war for the future, and put a stop to the need of this nation preparing its own strength for its own defense. Many of the adherents of this idea grandiloquently assert that they intend to supplant nationalism by internationalism.

In deciding upon proposals of this nature it behooves our people to remember that competitive rhetoric is a poor substitute for the habit of resolutely looking facts in the face.

Nothing in the world can alter facts. Patriotism stands in national matters as love of family does in private life. Nationalism corresponds to the love a man bears for his wife and children. Internationalism corresponds to the feeling he has for his neighbors generally. The sound nationalist is the only type of really helpful internationalist, precisely as in private relations it is the man who is most devoted to his own wife and children who is apt, in the long run, to be the most satisfactory neighbor. To substitute internationalism for nationalism means to do away with patriotism, and is as vicious and as profoundly demoralizing as to put promiscuous devotion to all other persons in the place of steadfast devotion to a man's own family. Either effort means the atrophy of robust morality. The man who loves other countries as much as his own stands on a level with the man who loves other women as much as he loves his own wife. One is as worthless a creature as the other. The professional pacifist and the professional internationalist are equally undesirable citizens. The American pacifist has in actual fact shown himself to be the tool and ally of the German militarist. The professional internationalist is a man who, under a pretense of diffuse attachment for everybody hides the fact that in reality he is incapable of doing his duty by anybody.

We Americans should abhor all wrong-doing to other nations. We ought always to act fairly and generously by other nations. But we must remember that our first duty is to be loyal and patriotic citizens of our own nation, of America. These two facts should always be in our minds in dealing with any proposal for a league of nations. By all means let us be loyal to great ideals. But let us remember that, unless we show common sense in action, loyalty in speech will amount to considerably less than nothing.

Test the proposed future league of nations so far as concerns proposals to disarm, and to trust to anything except our own strength for our own defense, by what the nations are actually doing at the present time. Any such league would

have to depend for its success upon the adhesion of the nine nations which are actually or potentially the most powerful military nations, and these nine nations include Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Russia. The first three have recently and repeatedly violated, and are now actively and continuously violating, not only every treaty, but every rule of civilized warfare and of international good faith. During the last year Russia, under the dominion of the Bolsheviks, has betrayed her allies, has become the tool of the German autocracy, and has shown such utter disregard of her national honor and plighted word, and her international duties, that she is now in external affairs the passive tool and ally of her brutal conqueror, Germany. What earthly use is it to pretend that the safety of the world would be secured by a league in which these four nations would be among the nine leading partners? Long years must pass before we can again trust any promises these four nations make. Any treaty of any kind or sort which we make with them should be made with the full understanding that they will cynically repudiate it whenever they think it to their interest to do so. Therefore, unless our folly is such that it will not depart from us until we are brayed in a mortar, let us remember that any such treaty will be worthless unless our own prepared strength renders it unsafe to break it.

After the war the wrong-doers will be so punished and exhausted that they may for a number of years wish to keep the peace. But the surest way to make them keep the peace in the future is to punish them heavily now. And don't forget that China is now useless as a prop to a league of peace simply because she lacks effective military strength for her own defense.

Let us support any reasonable plan, whether in the form of a league of nations or in any other shape, which bids fair to lessen the probable number of future wars, and to limit their score.¹ But let us laugh out of court any assertion that any

¹In my book already alluded to, published nearly four years ago under the title "America and the World War," there will be found what so far

such plan will guarantee peace and safety to the foolish, weak, or timid creatures who have not the will and the power to prepare for their own defense. Support any such plan which is honest and reasonable. But support it as an addition to, and never as a substitute for, the policy of preparing our own strength for our own defense. To follow any other course would turn this country into the China of the Occident. We cannot guarantee for ourselves or our children peace without effort, or safety without service and sacrifice. We must prepare both our souls and our bodies, in virile fashion, alike to secure justice for ourselves and to do justice to others. Only thus can we secure our own national self-respect. Only thus can we secure the respect of other nations and the power to aid them when they seek to do well.

In sum, then, I shall be delighted to support the movement for a league to enforce peace, or for a league of nations, if it is developed as a supplement to, and not a substitute for, the preparation of our own strength. I believe that this preparation should be by the introduction in this country of the principle of universal training and universal service, as practised in Switzerland, and modified, of course, both along the lines indicated in Australia and in accordance with our own needs. There will be no taint of Prussian militarism in such a system. It will merely mean ability to fight for self-defense in a great democracy in which law, order and liberty are to prevail.

as I know is the most feasible plan for actually putting into effect such a league of nations to enforce peace. What I therein wrote on the subject is sound doctrine to-day; and if what I therein wrote (in October, November, and December, 1914) as to performing our international duty, and as to preparedness, had been acted upon by the Administration at Washington, this war would long have been over, we would now have the peace of right and justice, and incalculable bloodshed would have been saved.—T. R.

WAR AIMS AND PEACE PROPOSALS

I¹

A KEEN observer of what is now happening in the world writes me that there is very grave danger that this country will be cheated out of the right kind of peace if our people remain fatuously content to accept high-sounding phrases of muddy meaning, instead of clear-cut and truthful statements of just what we demand and just what we intend to do.

The recent action of President Wilson in connection with Germany has shown the imperative need of our people informing themselves of his announced purpose and keeping track of what he does toward the achievement of this purpose. Therefore, we should insist upon the purpose being stated in understandable fashion and being adhered to after it has been stated. This isn't the President's war. It is the people's war. The peace will not be a satisfactory peace unless it is the people's peace. As a people we have no right to permit the President to commit us to that of which we do not approve or to that which, after honest effort, we are unable to understand.

President Wilson's first communication to the German Government, if words mean anything, meant an effort to treat on the basis of his so-called "fourteen points." The German Government answered that it accepted these fourteen points and approved of them. This made them public property, and it behooves the Americans to examine them. I believe that such

¹ The *Kansas City Star*, October 17, 1918, under the title "High-Sounding Phrases of Muddy Meaning."

an examination will show the American people that their meaning is so muddy that we should insist upon their being clearly defined before we in any way accept them as ours. When the peace terms come to be reduced to action, we cannot afford to accept empty competitive rhetoric for straightforward plain dealing.

As regards some of the points, either the meaning is so muddy as to be wholly incomprehensible or else the proposals are very treacherous. The fourth article, for example, proposes guaranties for the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety. If this article means anything, it means that this nation, for instance, is only to keep whatever armed forces are necessary to police the country in the event of domestic disturbance. Now, let our people face what this really implies. It is a proposal that we give up our navy, which, of course, cannot be used for such police purposes, and that we give up all of our army that could be used against a foreign foe. And according to point fourteen of his address to Congress of January 8 last, and according to point three in his speech of September 27 last, this lack of armament on our part is to be supplied by mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity within the League of Nations covering the world.

Now, such guaranties are precisely and exactly the scraps of paper to which the German chancellor likened them when his government tore up those affecting Belgium. The proposal of President Wilson is that this country shall put itself in the position of Belgium; shall trust to guaranties precisely such as those to which Belgium trusted four and one-quarter years ago, and he also proposes, as far as his meaning can be made out at all, that the very powers that treated these guaranties as scraps of paper in the case of Belgium shall be among the powers to whose guaranty we are to trust to the exclusion of all preparation for our own self-defense. All nations are to be asked to render themselves helpless with fatuous indifference to the obvious fact that every weak-minded nation which ac-

cepted and acted in the proposal would be at the mercy of every ruthless and efficient nation that chose to treat the proposal as a scrap of paper.

I gravely doubt whether a more silly or more mischievous plan was ever seriously proposed by the ruler of a great nation. Yet, this is exactly the plan to which President Wilson, by his correspondence with Germany, has sought definitely to commit the United States. If his words do not mean exactly what is above set forth, then their meaning is so muddy that no two disinterested outsiders would be warranted in interpreting them the same way.

There is small cause for wonder that Germany eagerly accepted and made her own President Wilson's fourteen points to which he, without any warrant whatever, seemed to commit this nation. Incidentally I may add that Mr. Wilson has at different times enunciated at least as many other points, some of them contradictory to the fourteen which he enumerated in January last. The outburst of popular indignation led by such men as Senators Lodge, Poindexter, and Thomas, which forced him to repudiate the negotiations which he had begun with Germany, should be supplemented by a resolute insistence upon the duty of the American public to inform itself as to what it wishes in the peace before the President, without authority, commits it to any peace proposal, and above all to peace proposals which many mean anything or nothing.

Secretary McAdoo, with fine family loyalty, announced that the acceptance by Germany of the fourteen points would have meant Germany's unconditional surrender. He might as well have said that the acceptance of disunion and the perpetuation of slavery in 1864 would have meant a surrender by the Confederate States. Not only Germany, but every pacifist and pro-German here at home, hailed the fourteen points as representing what they desired. I recently spoke to a body of loyal Americans of German descent on behalf of the Liberty Loan. A member of their organization who was not a straight American but a hyphenated American, and who did not venture to

do more than sign himself as "German-American," wrote me that in view of my repudiation of President Wilson's so-called fourteen points he could not, as a loyal German-American, do otherwise than condemn me. The individual himself is doubtless as unimportant as the anonymous letter-writer usually is, but there is a real significance in his indorsement of President Wilson's fourteen points in view of his calling himself so emphatically not a straight-out American, but a German-American. Evidently his loyalty is to Germanism and not to Americanism, and this German loyalty of his made him back the President's fourteen points, which Germany had so gladly accepted.

The American people should insist that these fourteen points and any other points are stated in clear-cut language, and that there be a full understanding of just what is meant by them and a full knowledge of how far the American people approve of them before any foreign power is permitted to think that they represent America's position at the peace council.

II ¹

When the American people speak for unconditional surrender, it means that Germany must accept whatever terms the United States and its allies think necessary in order to right the dreadful wrongs that have been committed and to safeguard the world for at least a generation to come from another attempt by Germany to secure world dominion. Unconditional surrender is the reverse of a negotiated peace. The interchange of notes which has been going on between our government and the governments of Germany and Austria during the last three weeks, means, of course, if persisted in, a negotiated peace. It is the abandonment of force and the substitution of negotiation. This fact should be clearly and truthfully stated by our leaders, so that the American people

¹The Kansas City *Star*, October 26, 1918.

may decide with their eyes open which course they will follow.

Those of us who believe in unconditional surrender regard Germany's behavior during the last five years as having made her the outlaw among nations. In private life sensible men and women do not negotiate with an outlaw or grow sentimental about him, or ask for a peace with him on terms of equality if he will give up his booty. Still less do they propose to make a league with him for the future, and on the strength of this league to abolish the sheriff and take the constable. On the contrary, they expect the law-officers to take him by force and to have him tried and punished. They do not punish him out of revenge, but because all intelligent persons know punishment to be necessary in order to stop certain kinds of criminals from wrong-doing and to save the community from such wrong-doing.

We ought to treat Germany in precisely this manner. It is a sad and dreadful thing to have to face some months or a year or so of additional bloodshed, but it is a much worse thing to quit now and have the children now growing up obliged to do the job all over again, with ten times as much bloodshed and suffering, when their turn comes. The surest way to secure a peace as lasting as that which followed the downfall of Napoleon is to overthrow the Prussianized Germany of the Hohenzollerns as Napoleon was overthrown. If we enter into a league of peace with Germany and her vassal allies we must expect them to treat the arrangement as a scrap of paper whenever it becomes to their interest to do so.

III ¹

The European nations have been told that the fourteen points enumerated in President Wilson's message of January last are to be the basis of peace. It is, therefore, possible that

¹ The *Kansas City Star*, October 30, 1918, under the title "What Are the Fourteen Points?"

Americans may like to know what they are. It is even possible that they may like to guess what they mean, although I am not certain that such guessing is permitted by the postmaster-general and the attorney-general under the new theory of making democracy safe for all kinds of peoples abroad who have never heard of it by interpreting democracy at home as meaning that it is unlawful for the people to express any except favorable opinions of the way in which the public servants of the people transact the public business.

The first point forbids "all private international understandings of any kind," and says there must be "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at," and announces that "diplomacy shall always proceed frankly in the public view." The President has recently waged war on Haiti and San Domingo and rendered democracy within these two small former republics not merely unsafe, but non-existent. He has kept all that he has done in the matter absolutely secret. If he means what he says, he will at once announce what open covenant of peace he has openly arrived at with these two little republics, which he has deprived of their right of self-determination. He will also announce what public international understanding, if any, he now has with these two republics, whose soil he is at present occupying with the armed forces of the United States and hundreds of whose citizens have been killed by these armed forces. If he has no such public understanding, he will tell us why, and whether he has any private international understanding, or whether he invaded and conquered them and deprived them of the right of self-determination without any attempt to reach any understanding, either private or public.

Moreover, he has just sent abroad on a diplomatic mission Mr. House, of Texas. Mr. House is not in the public service of the nation but he is in the private service of Mr. Wilson. He is usually called Colonel House. In his official or semi-official biography, published in an ardently admiring New York paper, it is explained that he was once appointed colonel on a governor's staff, but carried his dislike of military osten-

tation to the point of giving his uniform to a negro servant to wear on social occasions. This attitude of respect for the uniform makes the President feel that he is peculiarly fit to negotiate on behalf of our fighting men abroad for whom the uniform is sacred. Associated with him is an editor of the *New York World*, which paper has recently been busy in denouncing as foolish the demand made by so many Americans for unconditional surrender by Germany.

I do not doubt that these two gentlemen possess charming social attributes and much private worth, but as they are sent over on a diplomatic mission, presumably vitally affecting the whole country, and as their instructions and purposes are shrouded in profound mystery, it seems permissible to ask President Wilson why in this particular instance diplomacy does not "proceed frankly in the public view"?

This first one of the fourteen points offers such an illuminating opportunity to test promise as to the future by performance in the present that I have considered it at some length. The other thirteen points and the subsequent points laid down as further requirements for peace I shall briefly take up in another article.

The second in the fourteen points deals with freedom of the seas. It makes no distinction between freeing the seas from murder like that continually practised by Germany and freeing them from blockade of contraband merchandise, which is the practice of a right universally enjoyed by belligerents and at this moment practised by the United States. Either this proposal is meaningless or it is a mischievous concession to Germany.

The third point promises free trade among all the nations, unless the words are designedly used to conceal President Wilson's true meaning. This would deny to our country the right to make a tariff to protect its citizens, and especially its working men, against Germany or China or any other country. Apparently this is desired on the ground that the incidental domestic disaster to this country will prevent other countries

from feeling hostile to us. The supposition is foolish. England practised free trade and yet Germany hated England particularly, and Turkey practised free trade without deserving or obtaining friendship from any one except those who desired to exploit her.

The fourth point provides that this nation, like every other, is to reduce its armaments to the lowest limit consistent with domestic safety. Either this is language deliberately used to deceive or else it means that we are to scrap our army and navy and prevent riot by means of a national constabulary, like the State constabulary of New York or Pennsylvania.

Point five proposes that colonial claims shall all be treated on the same basis. Unless the language is deliberately used to deceive, this means that we are to restore to our brutal enemy the colonies taken by our allies while they were defending us from this enemy. The proposition is probably meaningless. If it is not, it is monstrous.

Point six deals with Russia. It probably means nothing, but if it means anything, it provides that America shall share on equal terms with other nations, including Germany, Austria, and Turkey, in giving Russia assistance. The whole proposition would not be particularly out of place in a college sophomore's exercise in rhetoric.

Point seven deals with Belgium and is entirely proper and commonplace.

Point eight deals with Alsace-Lorraine and is couched in language which portrays Mr. Wilson's besetting sin—his inability to speak in a straightforward manner. He may mean Alsace and Lorraine must be restored to France, in which case he is right. He may mean that a plebiscite must be held, in which case he is playing Germany's evil game.

Point nine deals with Italy, and is right.

Point ten deals with the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and is so foolish that even President Wilson has since abandoned it.

Point eleven proposes that we, together with other nations, including apparently Germany, Austria, and Hungary, shall

guarantee justice in the Balkan Peninsula. As this would also guarantee our being from time to time engaged in war over matters in which we had no interest whatever, it is worth while inquiring whether President Wilson proposes that we wage these wars with the national constabulary to which he desired to reduce our armed forces.

Point twelve proposes to perpetuate the infamy of Turkish rule in Europe, and as a sop to the conscience of humanity proposes to give the subject races autonomy, a slippery word which in a case like this is useful only for rhetorical purposes.

Point thirteen proposes an independent Poland, which is right; and then proposes that we guarantee its integrity in the event of future war, which is preposterous unless we intend to become a military nation more fit for overseas warfare than Germany is at present.

Point fourteen proposes a general association of nations to guarantee to great and small States alike political independence and territorial integrity. It is dishonorable to make this proposition so long as President Wilson continues to act as he is now acting in Haiti and San Domingo. In its essence Mr. Wilson's proposition for a league of nations seems to be akin to the holy alliance of the nations of Europe a century ago, which worked such mischief that the Monroe Doctrine was called into being especially to combat it. If it is designed to do away with nationalism, it will work nothing but mischief. If it is devised in sane fashion as an addition to nationalism and as an addition to preparing our own strength for our own defense, it may do a small amount of good; but it will certainly accomplish nothing if more than a moderate amount is attempted and probably the best first step would be to make the existing league of the Allies a going concern.

As to the supplementary points or proposals, the four advanced or laid down in February were sound moral aphorisms of no value save as they may be defined in each particular case.

But the supplementary five proposals set forth by President

Wilson last September were, on the whole, mischievous and were capable of a construction that would make them ruinous in their essence. They set forth the doctrine that there must be no discrimination between our friends and our enemies and no special economic or political alliances among friendly nations, but uniform treatment of all the league of nations; the said league, therefore, to include Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Russia upon a footing of equality of our allies. Either the words used mean nothing or they mean that we are to enter a league in which we make believe that our deadly enemies, stained with every kind of brutality and treachery, are as worthy of friendship as the Allies who have fought our battles for four years. No wonder that the proposal is enthusiastically applauded by Germany, Austria, and Turkey and by all our own pro-Germans and pacifists and Germanized Socialists and anti-American internationalists. It is the kind of proposition made by cold-blooded men who at least care nothing for the sufferings of others. It is eagerly championed by foolish and hysterical sentimentalists. It is accepted and used for sinister purposes by powerful and cynical wrongdoers. When the President was making this proposition and during the subsequent month Germany was committing inhuman murders of the people on the *Ticonderoga* and *Leinster* at sea, and on shore was committing every species of murder, rape, enslavement, plunder, and outrage as her armies withdrew from France and Belgium.

President Wilson's announcement was a notice to the malefactors that they would not be punished for the murders. Let us treat the League of Nations only as an addition to, and not as a substitute for, thorough preparedness and intense nationalism on our part. Let none of the present international criminals be admitted until a sufficient number of years has passed to make us sure it has repented. Make conduct the test of admission to the League. In every crisis judge each nation by its conduct. Therefore, at the present time let us stand by our friends and against our enemies.

IV¹

In my article yesterday I discussed Mr. Wilson's fourteen peace points which had been accepted by Germany. After the article was sent in, Mr. Wilson explained one of the points by stating that it meant exactly the opposite of what it said. A New York paper has asked for the election of a Congress that shall see eye to eye with Mr. Wilson. But only a Congress of whirling dervishes could see eye to eye with Mr. Wilson for more than twenty-four hours at a time.

When Germany broke her treaty with Belgium, the German chancellor called it a scrap of paper. Any individual who proposes a treaty which plainly means one thing, and then, as soon as he finds it disagreeable to adhere to that obvious meaning, instantly interprets it as meaning exactly the opposite, is treating it as a scrap of paper. Mr. Wilson's recent interpretation of what he meant in the point about economic barriers makes all the fourteen points scraps of paper unworthy of serious discussion by anybody, because no human being is supposed to say what any one of them means or to do more than guess whether to-morrow Mr. Wilson will not interpret each and all of them in a sense exactly the opposite to their meaning.

Mr. Wilson's language in the point in question was that he intended the removal "of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations." By no honest construction of language can this be held to mean anything except that this nation, for example, could have no tariff of its own, but must live under exactly the same tariff, or no tariff, conditions with all other nations. But Mr. Wilson now notifies a Democratic senator that he did not mean any "restriction upon the free determination by any nation of its own economic policy." If he meant this,

¹The Kansas City *Star*, October 31, 1918, under the title "Fourteen Scraps of Paper."

why did he not say it? Why did he say the exact opposite? His first statement is wholly incompatible with the interpretation he now puts on it. If anybody in private life entered into a contract in such manner and then sought to repudiate it by interpreting it in such manner, there is not a court in Christendom that would not adjudge him guilty of having used language with deliberate intent to deceive.

Nor is this all. In his new interpretation of what he did not originally mean, the President now says that he proposes to prevent any nation, including the United States, from using its tariff to discriminate in favor of friendly nations and against hostile nations. This is what he now says and what he now means, but, of course, to-morrow he may say that in this new interpretation he again meant exactly the opposite of what he says. However this may be for the future, President Wilson at this moment says, for instance, we ought to abandon reciprocity treaties; that we ought to refuse to make such treaties with our friends, such as Cuba and Brazil, and ought to punish these friends by treating them on an exact equality with our embittered and malevolent enemy, Germany. I hold this to be thoroughly mischievous doctrine.

The great scientist, Huxley, who loved truth and abhorred falsehood, said that "the primary condition of honest literature is to leave the reader in no doubt as to the author's meaning." Evidently this primary condition is not fulfilled by Mr. Wilson's fourteen points. They should now be treated as scraps of paper and put where they belong, in the scrap-basket.

V¹

The surest way to kill a great cause is to reduce it to a hard-and-fast formula and insist upon the application of the formula without regard to actual existing conditions.

It is announced in the press that the President is going to

¹The Kansas City *Star*, November 22, 1918.

the Peace Conference especially to insist, among other things, on that one of his fourteen points dealing with the so-called "freedom of the seas." The President's position in the matter is, of course, eagerly championed by Germany, as it has been Germany's special position throughout the war. It is, of course, eagerly championed by the New York *World*, the Hearst papers, and all the rubber-stamp gentry. It is antagonized by England and France and by every anti-German in America who understands the situation.

It is utterly impossible, in view of the immense rapidity of the change in modern war conditions, to formulate abstract policies about such matters as contraband and blockades. These policies must be actually tested in order to see how they work. Both England and the United States have reversed themselves in this matter on several different occasions. This is interesting as a matter of history, but from no other standpoint. If we are honorable and intelligent we will follow the course in this matter which, under existing conditions at this time, seems most likely to work justice in the immediate future.

Germany's position was that England had no right to blockade her so as to cut off her supplies from the outside world. President Wilson at the time accepted this view and talked a good deal about the freedom of the seas. Meanwhile Germany, through her submarines, began an unprecedented course of wholesale murder on the seas. President Wilson protested against this in language much more apologetic and tender than he had used in protesting against Great Britain blockading Germany in what was essentially the same manner in which we blockaded the South during the Civil War. He put the dollar above the man and incidentally above the women and the children. He protested more vigorously upon the interference with American goods than against the taking of American lives.

Then we finally went to war with Germany ourselves. We instantly adopted toward Germany and toward neutrals like Holland exactly the position which President Wilson had been

denouncing England for adopting toward Germany and toward us. Our action in this case was quite right, whereas our protest against England's action had been entirely wrong.

President Wilson now proposes to accept the German view and provide a system which, if it had been in existence in 1914, would have meant the inevitable and rapid triumph of Germany.

If this particular one of the proposed fourteen points had been in treaty form and had been lived up to in 1914, Germany would have had free access to the outside world. England's fleet would not have enabled her to bring economic pressure to bear upon Germany and doubtless Germany would have won an overwhelming victory within a couple of years. Therefore Mr. Wilson's proposal is that now, when no human being can foretell whether Germany will feel chastened and morally changed, we shall take steps which will mean that if the war has to be fought over again, Germany's triumph will have been secured in advance so far as we are able to secure it. All such conditions, all merely academic questions as to the attitude of America or of England before the outbreak of the Great War, are insignificant. Whatever our views prior to the Great War, we are fools, indeed, if we have not learned the lessons these last four and a half terrible years have taught. The freedom of the seas in the sense used by Germany and Mr. Wilson would have meant the enslavement of mankind to Germany. It would have meant that this country would at this time either be lying prostrate under the feet of German invaders or be purchasing peace by ransoms heavier than were paid by Belgium. No patriotic American has the right to stand quiet and see the President of the country, without any warrant from the country, try to bring upon us such outrageous potentialities of disaster as would be implied in the general international adoption of the so-called "freedom of the seas." Such freedom of the seas means the enslavement of mankind.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S APPEAL FOR A
PRO ADMINISTRATION CONGRESS ¹

I COME to this meeting as an American and only as an American. In this crisis I do not consider politics at all whenever doing so conflicts in the slightest degree with the great cause of Americanism or with our immediate purpose of winning the war and of securing the peace of unconditional surrender by Germany. I make my appeal to all good Americans, in the name of Americanism, and I make it just as much to all independents and to all far-sighted, patriotic Democrats who are awake to the real needs of the situation as I do to Republicans.

This meeting is held under peculiar circumstances. If the President of the United States is right in the appeal he has just made to the voters, then you and I, my hearers, have no right to vote at this election or to discuss public questions while the war lasts. If his appeal is justified, only that faction of the Democratic party which accepts toward the President the rubber-stamp attitude of complete servility is entitled to control Congress; and no man who is a Republican, and no man whether a Republican or not who puts loyalty to the people ahead of loyalty to the servant of the people, is to have a voice in determining the greatest questions ever brought before this nation.

In this election appeal which the President has issued to the voters of the country he states that he earnestly begs the voters to return "a Democratic majority to both the Senate and the House of Representatives," and that although "the leaders of

¹ Speech at Carnegie Hall, New York, October 28, 1918.

the minority in the present Congress have unquestionably been prowar they have been anti-Administration," and that "the return of a Republican majority to either house of Congress would certainly be interpreted on the other side of the water as a repudiation of my [President Wilson's] leadership."

This is an extraordinary document. It is an emphatic repudiation and reversal of the President's announcement of a few months back that "politics is adjourned." It casts the gravest doubt on the sincerity of that announcement; and indeed for the last few months the Democratic party organization, acting with the support and direction of the President's closest advisers, such as Messrs. Burleson and Creel, has been working with naked eagerness for partisan success, and has displayed a greedy unscrupulousness as to methods and a complete subordination of national interests to partisan welfare never before known in our history during a great war.

When this war broke out I, and all those who believed as I did, cast all thought of politics aside and put ourselves unreservedly at the service of the President. Of course if Mr. Wilson had really meant to disregard politics he would at once have constructed a coalition, non-partisan Cabinet, calling the best men of the nation to the highest and most important offices under him, without regard to politics. He did nothing of the kind. In the positions most vital to the conduct of the war, and in the positions now most important in connection with negotiating peace, he retained or appointed men without the slightest fitness for the performance of the tasks, whose sole recommendation was a supple eagerness to serve Mr. Wilson personally and to serve Mr. Wilson's party in so far as such serving benefited Mr. Wilson.

I am glad that Mr. Wilson has now cast off the mask. Now he declares that this is a party war, and that the Republicans, although he admits "that they have been unquestionably prowar," are to be excluded from any share in controlling the war.

Nor is this all. He makes his appeal on behalf of the Demo-

cratic party. But he is careful to qualify it so as to exclude all Democrats who put loyalty to the nation or even loyalty to their party principles ahead of adherence to the Administration. He in no way discriminates between Democrats who are prowar and those who are antiwar. He asks the exclusion from Congress of the man who is anti-Administration, without the slightest reference to whether he is prowar or antiwar, loyal or disloyal, patriotic or unpatriotic.

Contrast with this the position of Abraham Lincoln. In the darkest days of the Civil War, Lincoln declined outright to make any party appeal or to apply any party test or any test save that of loyalty in the prosecution of the war and loyalty to the Union and to liberty. In March, 1863, he advocated sending to Congress only "unconditional supporters of the war," making no reference to any party. Lincoln made no party test. He appealed to all loyal men of all parties. He asked that the test of fitness for Congress be, not adherence to his personal Administration, but unconditional support of the war.

Mr. Wilson applies the most rigid party test. He explicitly repudiates loyalty to the war as a test. He demands the success of the Democratic party, and asks the defeat of all prowar men if they have been anti-Administration. He asks for the defeat of prowar Republicans. He does not ask for the defeat of antiwar Democrats. On the contrary, he supports such men if, although antiwar, they are pro-Administration.

He does not ask for loyalty to the nation. He asks only for support of himself. There is not the slightest suggestion that he disapproves of disloyalty to the nation. I do not doubt that he feels some disapproval of such disloyalty; but apparently this feeling on his part is so tepid that it slips from his mind when he contemplates what he regards as the far greater sin of failure in adherence to himself.

The above statement about President Lincoln sufficiently answers the claim of the Democratic organization that President Wilson at this time occupies a position corresponding to

President Lincoln. The same organization also professes to see a similarity between my plea in 1898 at the time of the Spanish War for a Republican Congress because the Republican party was prowar, and Mr. Wilson's plea at the present time against a Republican Congress in spite of the fact that it is prowar. When I spoke in 1898, the peace proposal had been signed, but not the final peace treaty. The Democratic party through every Democratic State convention had denounced President McKinley's war policy, and two-thirds of them had declared in their platforms for free silver and the nomination for President of William J. Bryan, the anti-imperialist and pacifist.

Such were the conditions when I asked for the election of a Republican Congress because the Republican party was prowar, because it stood for the liberty loans of that day, because it stood for the peace of overwhelming victory, and because after having enforced unconditional surrender in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, it insisted upon the peace of overwhelming victory, no parleying having been held, and no notes exchanged, and no conversation indulged in, and no Colonel House sent abroad until Manila and Santiago fell and the victory was an accomplished fact.

President Wilson in his appeal says that the Republican party is prowar, but that he is against it because it is anti-Administration. Over half the Democrats whom his appeal is intended to seat in Congress are antiwar, although pro-Administration. I refer to the record of the Democratic leaders like Messrs. Kitchin and Dent and ask to compare them with the record of the Republican leaders like Messrs. Kahn, Weeks, McCormick, Lodge, Poindexter, and the rest.

I ask all patriotic Americans to consider just what is meant when the President says that in the present Congress the leaders of the minority, although unquestionably prowar, have been anti-Administration. These leaders supported the Administration when a declaration of war was needed. They supported it when there was a demand for the draft. They sup-

ported it when we sent the army overseas. They supported every demand for money whether by taxation or by loans. They supported it or gave it initiative and guidance on every issue where it stood for vigorous prosecution of the war; and they supported it on these issues when half the leaders of President Wilson's own party opposed him when he had committed himself to war measures--and yet President Wilson makes a partisan appeal in favor of the Democrats who opposed the war measures and against the Republicans who supported them.

Now, what does Mr. Wilson mean when he speaks of these leaders as being, although "prowar," yet "anti-Administration"? He means that when the War Department was administered with utter inefficiency they investigated the matter and insisted upon efficiency. He means that when they found that nothing effective was being done in ship-building, they insisted that the work be speeded up. He means that when they found that six hundred million dollars had been spent for airplanes, and yet that not an airplane had reached our soldiers at the front they insisted that our soldiers should get the airplanes for which the people had paid. The entire offense of the Republican leaders in Mr. Wilson's eyes is that they have demanded that inefficiency, waste, and extravagance be remedied.

President Wilson says that Republicans are not good enough to serve the Republic in Congress at this time. But they are good enough to die for the Republic in the army and navy! They are good enough to pay the taxes and subscribe to the loans! We have sent our sons and our brothers to spill their blood like water overseas under the flag; we have given our strength and our money without stint to serve the country at home, to float the loans, to back up the war activities of every kind; and now we are told that the blood of our sons, and the money saved at the expense of our wives and little children, do not entitle us to any word in saying how the war is to be waged! Or what are the terms on which peace is to be made, or what shall be our politics after the war!

Mr. Wilson says that this is no time for divided counsels. It is mere insolence for the servant of the people to say that he will not counsel with those other servants of the people whom the people have elected for the express purpose of giving him counsel. The world would be better off now by hundreds of thousands of fearless lives and by many billions of dollars of treasure if Mr. Wilson had been willing to supplement his own self-sufficient ignorance by the counsel of those who would gladly have counselled him wisely, but who would not creep into the presence as slaves.

The President says that this is his war, not the people's war, and that the half of the people who have been most resolute in favor of the firm and efficient prosecution of the war are hereafter to be excluded from all share in its management, and from all say-so as to the peace which is to crown and justify it. We can pay with the blood of our hearts' dearest; but that is all that we are to be allowed; and yet the price we pay, and the peace the nation is to get for that price, are to be settled by the agency or the aid of men of cold heart who do not fight themselves, whose nearest kin are not in danger, who prepared for war not at all, who helped wage the war feebly, and who are content with a craven peace.

Mr. Henry Ford has announced that he does not believe in patriotism; and he thinks the flag is silly, and does not believe in it, and that when this war is over he will pull the flag down and never hoist it again. The son of this multimillionaire stays at home, while hundreds of thousands of men of small means leave their wives and children and go to war. But Mr. Wilson is supporting Mr. Ford for the Senate. On the other hand, Senator Weeks does believe in patriotism. He does believe in the war. His only son is fighting overseas at this moment, facing death side by side with his comrades from every rank of life. But Mr. Wilson is opposed to Mr. Weeks.

The President's personal organ, *The World*, itself says that the present Democratic Congress is a "slacker Congress." And the President asks the voters to keep these slackers in control,

provided only that these slackers follow him with abject alacrity in whichever new direction he may momentarily lead. Small wonder that in the cloak-room of the House the bitter jest circulates: "Here's to our Czar, last in war, first toward peace, long may he waver!" The President says he is anxious about the effect on Germany and our allies of the election of a Congress which would follow the present Republican leadership of the House and Senate. It would be as clearly understood abroad as at home. Our allies would know that it meant that America was determined to speed up the war, to back her own army and the armies of the Allies to the limit, to tolerate no corruption or inefficiency in waging the war, and to insist on Germany's unconditional surrender. Germany and her vassal states would know that in this country the pro-Germans and pacifists and Bolsheviks and Germanized Socialists could no longer be counted upon as efficient and tortuous tools, that the fighting men and not the rhetoricians were uppermost, and that henceforth the Germans would have to deal with the resolute and straightforward soul of the American people and not merely with the obscure purposes and wavering will of Mr. Wilson.

PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE ¹

NO public end of any kind will be served by President Wilson's going with Mr. Creel, Mr. House, and his other personal friends to the Peace Conference. Inasmuch as the circumstances of his going are so extraordinary, and as there is some possibility of mischief to this country as a result, there are certain facts which should be set forth so clearly that there can be no possibility of misunderstanding either by our own people, by our allies, or by our beaten enemies, or by Mr. Wilson himself.

Ten days before election Mr. Wilson issued an appeal to the American people in which he frankly abandoned the position of President of the whole people; assumed the position, not merely of party leader, but of party dictator, and appealed to the voters as such. Most of Mr. Wilson's utterances on public questions have been susceptible to at least two conflicting interpretations. But on this question he made the issue absolutely clear. He asked that the people return a Democratic majority to both the Senate and the House of Representatives. He stated that the Republican leaders were prowar, but that they were anti-Administration. His appeal was not merely against any Republican being elected, but against any Democrat who wished to retain his conscience in his own keeping. He declared himself explicitly against the prowar Republicans. He declared explicitly for all pro-Administration Democrats, without any reference as to whether they were prowar or antiwar. He said that if the people approved of his leadership and wished him to continue to be their "unembarrassed spokesman

¹ The Kansas City *Star*, November 26, 1918.

in affairs at home and abroad, they must return a Democratic majority to both the Senate and the House of Representatives." He explicitly stated that on the other side of the water the return of a Republican majority to either house of Congress would be interpreted as a repudiation of his leadership, and informed his fellow countrymen that to elect a Democratic majority in Congress was the only way to sustain him, Mr. Wilson.

The issue was perfectly, clearly drawn. The Republican party was prowar and anti-Administration, the Democratic party was officially pro-Administration without any mind or conscience of its own and prowar or antiwar according to the way in which Mr. Wilson changed his mind overnight or between dawn and sunset. The Americans refused to sustain Mr. Wilson. They elected a heavily Republican house and to the surprise of every one carried a majority in the Senate. On Mr. Wilson's own say-so they repudiated his leadership. In no other free country in the world to-day would Mr. Wilson be in office. He would simply be a private citizen like the rest of us.

Under these circumstances our allies and our enemies, and Mr. Wilson himself, should all understand that Mr. Wilson has no authority whatever to speak for the American people at this time. His leadership has just been emphatically repudiated by them. The newly elected Congress comes far nearer than Mr. Wilson to having a right to speak the purposes of the American people at this moment. Mr. Wilson and his fourteen points and his four supplementary points and his five complementary points and all his utterances every which way have ceased to have any shadow of right to be accepted as expressive of the will of the American people. He is President of the United States, he is part of the treaty-making power, but he is only part. If he acts in good faith to the American people, he will not claim on the other side of the water any representative capacity in himself to speak for the American people. He will say frankly that his personal leader-

ship has been repudiated and that he now has merely the divided official leadership which he shares with the Senate. If he will in good faith act in this way all good citizens in good faith will support him, just as they will support the Senate under similar circumstances.

But there isn't the slightest indication that he intends so to act. The most striking manifestation of his purpose is that he sent over Mr. Creel and sixteen of his employees who are officially announced as "the United States official press mission to the Peace Conference," and, with more self-satisfaction, the committee announces, "to interpret the work of the Peace Conference by keeping up world-wide propaganda to disseminate American accomplishments and American ideals." At the same time Mr. Burleson seized the cables after the war is over and when there can be no possible object except to control the news in the interest of President Wilson as Mr. Burleson and Mr. Creel see that interest. The action of the Creel "official press" would really seem more like an excessively bad joke if it were not so serious. But during the war the Administration, often incompetent to the verge of impudence in dealing with war problems and with the Hun within our gates, showed itself a past master in bullying, browbeating, deceiving, and puzzling our own people. It is utterly impossible that the Creel "official press" and the Burleson-owned cables can have any other real purpose than to make the news sent out from the Peace Conference, both to ourselves, our allies, and our enemies, what they desire to have told from their own standpoint and nothing more.

This is a very grave offense against our own people, but it may be a worse offense against both our allies and ourselves. America played in the closing months of the war a gallant part, but not in any way the leading part, and she played this part only by acting in strictest agreement with our allies and under the joint high command. She should take precisely the same attitude at the Peace Conference. We have lost in this war about two hundred and thirty-six thousand men killed and

wounded. England and France have lost about seven million. Italy and Belgium and the other allies doubtless lost three million more. Of the terrible sacrifice which has enabled the Allies to win the victory, America has contributed just about two per cent. At the end, I personally believe that our intervention was decisive because the combatants were so equally matched and were so weakened by the terrible strain that our money and our enthusiasm and the million fighting men whom we got to the front, even although armed substantially with nothing but French field-cannon, tanks, machine-guns, and airplanes, was decisive in the scale. But we could render this decisive aid only because for four years the Allies, in keeping Germany from conquering their own countries, had incidentally kept her from conquering ours.

It is our business to act with our allies and to show an undivided front with them against any move of our late enemies. I am no Utopian. I understand entirely that there can be shifting alliances, I understand entirely that twenty years hence or thirty years hence we don't know what combinations we may have to face, and for this reason I wish to see us preparing our own strength in advance and trust to nothing but our own strength for our own self-defense as our permanent policy. But in the present war we have won only by standing shoulder to shoulder with our allies and presenting an undivided front to the enemy. It is our business to show the same loyalty and good faith at the Peace Conference. Let it be clearly understood that the American people absolutely stand behind France, England, Italy, Belgium, and the other allies at the Peace Conference, just as she has stood with them during the last eighteen months of war. Let every difference of opinion be settled among the Allies themselves and then let them impose their common will on the nations responsible for the hideous disaster which has almost wrecked mankind.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

I¹

THERE are so many prior things to do and so much uncertainty as to the form of agreement for permanently increasing the chances of peace that it is difficult to do more than make a general statement as to what is desirable and possibly feasible in the League of Nations plan. It would certainly be folly to discuss it overmuch until some of the existing obstacles to peace are overcome. That such discussion may be not futile, but mischievous, has been vividly shown in the last six weeks. During the first week of October President Wilson and Germany agreed on the famous fourteen points of Mr. Wilson's as a basis for peace. But this agreement amounted to nothing whatever except for a moment it gave Germany the hope that she could escape disaster by a negotiated peace. The emphatic protest of our own people caused this hope to vanish, and just five weeks later peace came, not on Mr. Wilson's fourteen points, but on General Foch's twenty-odd points, which had all the directness, the straightforwardness, and the unequivocal clearness which the fourteen points strikingly lacked.

Nevertheless, it is well to begin considering now the things which we think can be done and the things that we think cannot be done in making a league of nations. In the first place, we ought to realize that the population of the world clearly understands that in this war they have been involved to a degree never hitherto known. In consequence the horror of

¹ The Kansas City *Star*, November 17, 1918.

the war is very real, and people are at least thinking of the need of co-operation with much greater fixity of purpose and of understanding than ever before. Of course, fundamentally war and peace are matters of the heart rather than of organization, and any declaration or peace league which represents the high-flown sentimentality of pacifists and doctrinaires will be worse than useless; but if, without in the smallest degree sacrificing our belief in a sound and intense national aim, we all join with the people of England, France, and Italy, and with the people in smaller states who in practice show themselves able to steer equally clear of Bolshevism and of Kaiserism, we may be able to make a real and much-needed advance in the international organization. The United States cannot again completely withdraw into its shell. We need not mix in all European quarrels nor assume all spheres of interest everywhere to be ours, but we ought to join with the other civilized nations of the world in some scheme that in a time of great stress would offer a likelihood of obtaining just settlements that will avert war.

Therefore, in my judgment, the United States at the peace conference ought to be able to co-operate effectively with the British and French and Italian Governments to support a practical and effective plan which won't attempt the impossible, but which will represent a real step forward.

Probably the first essential would be to limit the league at the outset to the Allies, to the peoples with whom we have been operating and with whom we are certain we can co-operate in the future. Neither Turkey nor Austria need now be considered as regards such a league, and we should clearly understand that Bolshevist Russia is, and that Bolshevist Germany would be, as undesirable in such a league as the Germany and Russia of the Hohenzollerns and Romanoffs. Bolshevism is just as much an international menace as Kaiserism. Until Germany and Russia have proved by a course of conduct extending over years that they are capable of entering such a league in good

faith, so that we can count upon their fulfilling their duties in it, it would be merely foolish to take them in.

The league, therefore, would have to be based on the combination among the Allies of the present war—together with any peoples like the Czecho-Slovaks, who have shown that they are fully entitled to enter into such a league if they desire to do so. Each nation should absolutely reserve to itself its right to establish its own tariff and general economic policy, and absolutely ought to control such vital questions as immigration and citizenship and the form of government it prefers. Then it would probably be best for certain spheres of interest to be reserved to each nation or a group of nations.

The northernmost portion of South America and Mexico and Central America, all of them fronting on the Panama Canal, have a special interest to the United States, more interest than they can have for any European or Asiatic power. The general conduct of eastern Asiatic policy bears a most close relationship to Japan. The same thing is true as regards other nations and certain of the peculiarly African and European questions. Everything outside of what is thus reserved, which affects any two members of the league or affects one member of the league and outsiders, should be decided by some species of court, and all the people of the league should guarantee to use their whole strength in enforcing the decision.

This, of course, means that all the free peoples must keep reasonably prepared for defense and for helping well-behaved nations against the nations or hordes which represent despotism, barbarism, and anarchy. As far as the United States is concerned, I believe we should keep our navy to the highest possible point of efficiency and have it second in size to that of Great Britain alone, and we should then have universal obligatory military training for all our young men for a period of, say, nine months during some one year between the ages of nineteen and twenty-three inclusive. This would not represent militarism, but an antidote against militarism. It would not represent a great expense. On the contrary, it would mean

to give to every citizen of our country an education which would fit him to do his work as a citizen as no other type of education could.

There are some nations with which there would not be the slightest difficulty in going much further than this. The time has now come when it would be perfectly safe to enter into universal arbitration treaties with the British Empire, for example, reserving such rights only as Australia and Canada themselves would reserve inside the British Empire; but there are a number of outside peoples with whom it would not be safe to go much further than above outlined. If we only made this one kind of agreement, we could keep it, and we should make no agreement that we would not and could not keep. More essential than anything else is it for us to remember that in matters of this kind an ounce of practical performance is worth a ton of windy rhetorical promises.

II¹

Ex-Ambassador Harry White is a capital appointee for the peace commission. He is not a Republican, but an independent in politics who has worked as closely with Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Olney as with Mr. McKinley and Mr. Root.

It is a good thing to have him on in view of the exceedingly loose talk about the League of Nations or League to Enforce Peace. Fortunately Mr. Taft has set forth the proposal for such a league under existing conditions with such wisdom in refusing to let adherence to the principle be clouded by insistence upon improper or unimportant methods of enforcement that we can speak of the league as a practical matter. I think that most of our people are in favor of the establishment of the principle of such a league under common-sense conditions which will not attempt too much and thereby expose the movement to the absolute certainty of ridicule and failure. There

¹The Kansas City *Star*, December 2, 1918.

must be an honest effort to eliminate some of the causes that may produce future wars and to minimize the area of such wars.

Mr. Taft explicitly admits and insists that the league is to be a supplement to, and in no sense a substitute for, the duty of our nation to prepare its own strength for its own defense. He also explicitly provides that, among the various peoples who would not be admitted to the league on an equality with the others, there shall be different spheres of interest assumed by the different powers who have entered into the league. For example, the affairs of hither Asia, the Balkan Peninsula, and of North Africa are of prime concern to the powers of Europe, and the United States should be under no covenant to go to war about matters in which its people have no concern and probably no intelligent interest. On the other hand, the Monroe Doctrine—at least for all America between the equator and the southern boundary of the United States—is a vital point of American policy, and must in no shape or way be interfered with. We do not interfere with existing conditions, but aside from these no European or Asiatic power is to have any say-so in the future of Mexico, Central America, and the lands whose coasts are washed by the Caribbean Sea. The Panama Canal must not be internationalized. It is our canal; we built it; we fortified it, and we will protect it, and we will not permit our enemies to use it in war. In time of peace all nations shall use it alike, but in time of war our interest at once becomes dominant.

Most wisely Mr. Taft's plan reserves for each nation certain matters of such vital national interest that they cannot be put before any international tribunal. This country must settle its own tariff and industrial policies, and the question of admitting immigrants to work or to citizenship, and all similar matters, the exercise of which was claimed as a right when in 1776 we became an independent nation. We will not surrender our independence to a league of nations any more than to a single nation. Moreover, no international court must be

intrusted with the decision of what is and what is not justiciable.

In the articles of agreement the non-justiciable matters should be as sharply defined as possible, and until some better plan can be devised, the nation itself must reserve to itself the right, as each case arises, to say what these matters are.

But let us steadily remember that before dealing with schemes such as the League of Nations, which are necessarily more or less visionary, we must join in good faith with our allies in securing practical right and justice at the Peace Conference. We should treat as an enemy to this country every man who at this time seeks directly or indirectly to stir up dissension between us and England or France, or any other of our allies. Side by side we have fought against the hideous twin terrors of Bolshevism and Kaiserism and we must stand undivided at the Peace Conference. What the distant future may hold no man can say, and this is the very reason why I insist that America must prepare its own strength for its own defense. But our duty at the moment is clear. We have fought the war through beside the Allies and we must stand with them with hearty loyalty throughout the peace negotiations. There must be no division in the face of our enemies. At the very close of the war we played an honorable and probably decisive part, but we were enabled to do so only because for the four preceding years England and France and their associates in defending their own rights had also saved us from destruction. Our sacrifice is infinitesimal compared to theirs. We have had a quarter of a million men killed and wounded; England has had over three million, France nearly four million, and the other allies during their time of warfare against the common foe suffered in proportion. Our loss has been no more than one or two per cent. of the entire loss suffered by the Allied armies and navies.

The immediate cause of bringing the war to an end was the forcing of unconditional surrender upon Bulgaria and Turkey, with whom we had shamefully refused to go to war at all.

The English navy protected us exactly as it protected Britain. Under such circumstances it behooves us to remember that while we at the very end did our duty, yet that our comrades in arms for over four years performed incalculable feats and suffered incalculable losses and won the right of gratitude of all mankind. The American envoys must not sit at the peace table as umpires between the Allies and the conquered Central Powers, but as loyal brothers of the Allies, as loyal members of the league of free peoples, which has brought about peace by overthrowing Turkey, Bulgaria, and Austria, and beating Germany to her knees.

III ¹

It is, of course, a serious misfortune that our people are not getting a clear idea of what is happening on the other side. For the moment the point as to which we are foggy is the League of Nations. We all of us earnestly desire such a league, only we wish to be sure that it will help and not hinder the cause of world peace and justice. There is not a young man in this country who has fought, or an old man who has seen those dear to him fight, who does not wish to minimize

¹ The Kansas City *Star*, January 13, 1919. This article on "The League of Nations" is the last contribution that Colonel Roosevelt prepared for *The Star*. It was dictated at his home in Oyster Bay, January 3, the Friday before his death. His secretary expected to take the typed copy to him for correction Monday. Instead she was called on the telephone early Monday morning and told of his death. A delay of several days naturally ensued, before the editorial reached the office of *The Star*.

In view of the immense moment of the issues before the Peace Conference, *The Star* had asked Colonel Roosevelt to give his countrymen the benefit of his discussion of the possibilities of a league of nations as a preventive of war. He consented, although, as he wrote, he expected to follow this editorial with one "on what I regard as infinitely more important, namely, our business to prepare for our own self-defense." That article, however, was never written.

This article, then, his final contribution to *The Star*, represents his matured judgment based on protracted discussion and correspondence. It is of peculiar importance as the last message of a man who, above every other American of his generation, combined high patriotism, practical sense, and a positive genius for international relations.—R. E. Stout, editor, "Roosevelt in the Kansas City *Star*."

the chance of future war. But there is not a man of sense who does not know that in any such movement if too much is attempted the result is either failure or worse than failure.

The trouble with Mr. Wilson's utterances, so far as they are reported, and the utterances of acquiescence in them by European statesmen, is that they are still absolutely in the stage of rhetoric precisely like the "fourteen points." Some of the fourteen points will probably have to be construed as having a mischievous significance, a smaller number might be construed as being harmless, and one or two even as beneficial, but nobody knows what Mr. Wilson really means by them, and so all talk of adopting them as basis for a peace or a league is nonsense and, if the talker is intelligent, it is insincere nonsense to boot. So Mr. Wilson's recent utterances give us absolutely no clew as to whether he really intends that at this moment we shall admit Germany, Russia—with which, incidentally we are still waging war—Turkey, China, and Mexico into the league on full equality with ourselves. Mr. Taft has recently defined the purposes of the league and the limitations under which it would act, in a way that enables most of us to say we very heartily agree in principle with his theory and can, without doubt, come to an agreement on specific details.

Would it not be well to begin with the league which we actually have in existence, the league of the Allies who have fought through this great war? Let us at the peace table see that real justice is done as among these allies, and that while the sternest reparation is demanded from our foes for such horrors as those committed in Belgium, northern France, Armenia, and the sinking of the *Lusitania*, nothing should be done in the spirit of mere vengeance. Then let us agree to extend the privileges of the league, as rapidly as their conduct warrants it, to other nations, doubtless discriminating between those who would have a guiding part in the league and the weak nations who would be entitled to the privileges of membership, but who would not be entitled to a guiding voice in

the councils. Let each nation reserve to itself and for its own decision, and let it clearly set forth questions which are non-justiciable. Let nothing be done that will interfere with our preparing for our own defense by introducing a system of universal obligatory military training modelled on the Swiss plan.

Finally make it perfectly clear that we do not intend to take a position of international Meddlesome Matty. The American people do not wish to go into an overseas war unless for a very great cause and where the issue is absolutely plain. Therefore, we do not wish to undertake the responsibility of sending our gallant young men to die in obscure fights in the Balkans or in central Europe, or in a war we do not approve of. Moreover, the American people do not intend to give up the Monroe Doctrine. Let civilized Europe and Asia introduce some kind of police system in the weak and disorderly countries at their thresholds. But let the United States treat Mexico as our Balkan Peninsula and refuse to allow European or Asiatic powers to interfere on this continent in any way that implies permanent or semi-permanent possession. Every one of our allies will with delight grant this request if President Wilson chooses to make it, and it will be a great misfortune if it is not made.

I believe that such an effort made moderately and sanely, but sincerely and with utter scorn for words that are not made good by deeds, will be productive of real and lasting international good.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S
LETTERS TO HIS CHILDREN

EDITED BY JOSEPH BUCKLIN BISHOP

INTRODUCTION

MOST of the letters in this volume were written by Theodore Roosevelt to his children during a period of more than a dozen years. A few others are included that he wrote to friends or relatives about the children. He began to write to them in their early childhood, and continued to do so regularly till they reached maturity. Whenever he was separated from them, in the Spanish War, or on a hunting trip, or because they were at school, he sent them these messages of constant thought and love, for they were never for a moment out of his mind and heart. Long before they were able to read he sent them what they called "picture letters," with crude drawings of his own in illustration of the written text, drawings precisely adapted to the childish imagination and intelligence. That the little recipients cherished these delightful missives is shown by the tender care with which they preserved them from destruction. They are in good condition after many years of loving usage. A few of them are reproduced in these pages—written at different periods as each new child appeared in the household.

These early letters are marked by the same quality that distinguishes all his letters to his children. From the youngest to the eldest, he wrote to them always as his equals. As they advanced in life the mental level of intercourse was raised as they grew in intelligence and knowledge, but it was always as equals that he addressed them. He was always their playmate and boon companion, whether they were toddling infants taking their first faltering steps, or growing schoolboys, or youths standing at the threshold of life. Their games were his games, their joys those of his own heart. He was ready to romp with them in the old barn at Sagamore Hill, play "tickley" at bed-

time, join in their pillow fights, or play hide-and-seek with them, either at Sagamore Hill or in the White House. He was the same chosen and joyous companion always and everywhere. Occasionally he was disturbed for a moment about possible injury to his Presidential dignity. Describing a romp in the old barn at Sagamore Hill in the summer of 1903, he said in one of his letters that under the insistence of the children he had joined in it because: "I had not the heart to refuse, but really it seems, to put it mildly, rather odd for a stout, elderly President to be bouncing over hay-ricks in a wild effort to get to goal before an active midget of a competitor, aged nine years. However, it was really great fun."

It was because he at heart regarded it as "great fun" and was in complete accord with the children that they delighted in him as a playmate. In the same spirit, in January, 1905, he took a squad of nine boys, including three of his own, on what they called a "scramble" through Rock Creek Park, in Washington, which meant traversing the most difficult places in it. The boys had permission to make the trip alone, but they insisted upon his company. "I am really touched," he wrote afterward to the parents of two of the visiting boys, "at the way in which your children as well as my own treat me as a friend and playmate. It has its comic side. They were all bent upon having me take them; they obviously felt that my presence was needed to give zest to the entertainment. I do not think that one of them saw anything incongruous in the President's getting as bedaubed with mud as they got, or in my wiggling and clambering around jutting rocks, through cracks, and up what were really small cliff faces, just like the rest of them; and whenever any one of them beat me at any point, he felt and expressed simple and whole-hearted delight, exactly as if it had been a triumph over a rival of his own age."

When the time came that he was no longer the children's chosen playmate, he recognized the fact with a twinge of sadness. Writing in January, 1905, to his daughter Ethel, who

was at Sagamore Hill at the time, he said of a party of boys that Quentin had at the White House: "They played hard, and it made me realize how old I had grown and how very busy I had been the last few years to find that they had grown so that I was not needed in the play. Do you recollect how we all of us used to play hide-and-go-seek in the White House, and have obstacle races down the hall when you brought in your friends?"

Deep and abiding love of children, of family and home, that was the dominating passion of his life. With that went love for friends and fellow men, and for all living things, birds, animals, trees, flowers, and nature in all its moods and aspects. But love of children and family and home was above all. The children always had an old-fashioned Christmas in the White House. In several letters in these pages, descriptions of these festivals will be found. In closing one of them the eternal child's heart in the man cries out: "I wonder whether there ever can come in life a thrill of greater exaltation and rapture than that which comes to one between the ages of say six and fourteen, when the library door is thrown open and you walk in to see all the gifts, like a materialized fairyland, arrayed on your special table?"

His love for the home he had built and in which his beloved children had been born was not even dimmed by his life in the White House. "After all," he wrote to Ethel in June, 1906, "fond as I am of the White House and much though I have appreciated these years in it, there isn't any place in the world like home—like Sagamore Hill, where things are our own, with their own associations, and where it is real country."

Through all his letters runs his inexhaustible vein of delicious humor. All the quaint sayings of Quentin, that quaintest of small boys; all the antics of the household cats and dogs; all the comic aspects of the guinea-pigs and others of the large menagerie of pets that the children were always collecting; all the tricks and feats of the saddle-horses—these, together with every item of household news that would amuse and cheer and

keep alive the love of home in the heart of the absent boys, was set forth in letters which in gaiety of spirit and charm of manner have few equals in literature and no superiors. No matter how great the pressure of public duties, or how severe the strain that the trials and burdens of office placed upon the nerves and spirits of the President of a great nation, this devoted father and whole-hearted companion found time to send every week a long letter of this delightful character to each of his absent children.

As the boys advanced toward manhood the letters, still on the basis of equality, contain much wise suggestion and occasional admonition, the latter always administered in a loving spirit accompanied by apology for writing in a "preaching" vein. The playmate of childhood became the sympathetic and keenly interested companion in all athletic contests, in the reading of books and the consideration of authors, and in the discussion of politics and public affairs. Many of these letters, notably those on the relative merits of civil and military careers, and the proper proportions of sport and study, are valuable guides for youth in all ranks of life. The strong, vigorous, exalted character of the writer stands revealed in these as in all the other letters, as well as the cheerful soul of the man which remained throughout his life as pure and gentle as the soul of a child. Only a short time before he died, he said to me, as we were going over the letters and planning this volume, which is arranged as he wished it to be: "I would rather have this book published than anything that has ever been written about me."

J. B. B.

THE LETTERS

THE LETTERS

IN THE SPANISH WAR

At the outbreak of the war with Spain in the spring of 1898 Theodore Roosevelt, who was then assistant secretary of the navy, in association with Leonard Wood, organized the Regiment of Rough Riders and went into camp with them at Tampa, Fla. Later he went with his regiment to Cuba.

Camp at Tampa, May 6th, '98.

BLESSED BUNNIES:

It has been a real holiday to have darling mother here. Yesterday I brought her out to the camp, and she saw it all—the men drilling, the tents in long company streets, the horses being taken to water, my little horse Texas, the colonel and the majors, and finally the mountain lion and the jolly little dog Cuba, who had several fights while she looked on. The mountain lion is not much more than a kitten as yet, but it is very cross and treacherous.

I was very much interested in Kermit's and Ethel's letters to-day.

We were all, horses and men, four days and four nights on the cars coming here from San Antonio, and were very tired and very dirty when we arrived. I was up almost all of each night, for it happened always to be at night when we took the horses out of the cars to feed and water them.

Mother stays at a big hotel about a mile from camp. There are nearly thirty thousand troops here now, besides the sailors from the war-ships in the bay. At night the corridors and piazzas are thronged with officers of the army and navy; the older ones fought in the great Civil War, a third of a cen-

tury ago, and now they are all going to Cuba to war against the Spaniards. Most of them are in blue, but our roughriders are in brown. Our camp is on a great flat, on sandy soil without a tree, though round about are pines and palmettos. It is very hot, indeed, but there are no mosquitoes. Marshall is very well, and he takes care of my things and of the two horses. A general was out to inspect us when we were drilling to-day.



Off Santiago, 1898.

DARLING ETHEL:

We are near shore now and everything is in a bustle, for we may have to disembark to-night, and I do not know when I shall have another chance to write to my three blessed children, whose little notes please me so. This is only a line to tell you all how much father loves you. The Pawnee Indian drew you the picture of the little dog, which runs everywhere round the ship, and now and then howls a little when the band plays.

San Antonio, Texas, May 20, 1898.

DARLING ETHEL:

I loved your little letter. Here there are lots of funny little lizards that run about in the dusty roads very fast, and then stand still with their heads up. Beautiful red cardinal birds and tanagers flit about in the woods, and the flowers are lovely. But you never saw such dust. Sometimes I lie on the ground outside and sometimes in the tent. I have a mosquito net because there are so many mosquitoes.

Camp near Santiago, July 15, 1898.

DARLING ETHEL:

When it rains here—and it's very apt to rain here every day—it comes down just as if it was a torrent of water. The other night I hung up my hammock in my tent and in the middle of the night there was a terrific storm, and my tent and hammock came down with a run. The water was running over the ground in a sheet, and the mud was knee-deep; so I was a drenched and muddy object when I got to a neighboring tent, where I was given a blanket, in which I rolled up and went to sleep.

There is a funny little lizard that comes into my tent and is quite tame now; he jumps about like a little frog and puffs his throat out. There are ground-doves no bigger than big sparrows, and cuckoos almost as large as crows.

YOUTHFUL BIBLE COMMENTATORS

(To Miss Emily T. Carow)

Oyster Bay, Dec. 8, 1900.

The other day I listened to a most amusing dialogue at the Bible lesson between Kermit and Ethel. The subject was Joseph, and just before reading it they had been reading Quentin's book containing the adventures of the Gollywogs. Joseph's conduct in repeating his dream to his brothers, whom it was

certain to irritate, had struck both of the children unfavorably, as conflicting both with the laws of common-sense and with the advice given them by their parents as to the proper method of dealing with their own brothers and sisters. Kermit said: "Well, I think that was very foolish of Joseph." Ethel chimed in with "So do I, very foolish, and I do not understand how he could have done it." Then, after a pause, Kermit added thoughtfully by way of explanation: "Well, I guess he was simple, like Jane in the Gollywogs": and Ethel nodded gravely in confirmation.

It is very cunning to see Kermit and Archie go to the Cove school together. They also come down and chop with me, Archie being armed with a hatchet blunt enough to be suitable for his six years. He is a most industrious small chopper, and the other day gnawed down, or as the children call it, "beavered" down, a misshapen tulip tree, which was about fifty feet high.

FINE NAME FOR GUINEA PIGS

(To E. S. Martin)

Oyster Bay, Nov. 22, 1900.

Mrs. Roosevelt and I were more touched than I can well say at your sending us your book with its characteristic insertion and above all with the little extract from your boy's note about Ted. In what Form is your boy? As you have laid yourself open, I shall tell you that Ted sings in the choir and is captain of his dormitory football team. He was awfully homesick at first, but now he has won his place in his own little world and he is all right. In his last letter to his mother in response to a question about his clothes he answered that they were in good condition, excepting "that one pair of pants was split up the middle and one jacket had lost a sleeve in a scuffle, and in another pair of pants he had sat down in a jam pie at a cellar spread." We have both missed him greatly

in spite of the fact that we have five remaining. Did I ever tell you about my second small boy's names for his Guinea pigs? They included Bishop Doane; Dr. Johnson, my Dutch Reformed Pastor; Father G. Grady, the local priest with whom the children had scraped a speaking acquaintance; Fighting Bob Evans, and Admiral Dewey. Some of my Republican supporters in West Virginia have just sent me a small bear which the children of their own accord christened Jonathan Edwards, partly out of compliment to their mother's ancestor, and partly because they thought they detected Calvinistic traits in the bear's character.

A COUGAR AND LYNX HUNT

Keystone Ranch, Colo., Jan. 14th, 1901.

BLESSED TED:

From the railroad we drove fifty miles to the little frontier town of Meeker. There we were met by the hunter Goff, a fine, quiet, hardy fellow, who knows his business thoroughly. Next morning we started on horseback, while our luggage went by wagon to Goff's ranch. We started soon after sunrise, and made our way, hunting as we went, across the high, exceedingly rugged hills, until sunset. We were hunting cougar and lynx or, as they are called out here, "lion" and "cat." The first cat we put up gave the dogs a two hours' chase, and got away among some high cliffs. In the afternoon we put up another, and had a very good hour's run, the dogs baying until the glens rang again to the echoes, as they worked hither and thither through the ravines. We walked our ponies up and down steep, rock-strewn, and tree-clad slopes, where it did not seem possible a horse could climb, and on the level places we got one or two smart gallops. At last the lynx went up a tree. Then I saw a really funny sight. Seven hounds had been doing the trailing, while a large brindled bloodhound and two half-breeds between collie and bull stayed behind Goff, running so close to his horse's heels that they continually bumped into

them, which he accepted with philosophic composure. Then the dogs proceeded literally to *climb the tree*, which was a many-forked pinon; one of the half-breeds, named Tony, got up certainly sixteen feet, until the lynx, which looked like a huge and exceedingly malevolent pussy-cat, made vicious dabs at him. I shot the lynx low, so as not to hurt his skin.

Yesterday we were in the saddle for ten hours. The dogs ran one lynx down and killed it among the rocks after a vigorous scuffle. It was in a hole and only two of them could get at it.

This morning, soon after starting out, we struck the cold trail of a mountain lion. The hounds puzzled about for nearly two hours, going up and down the great gorges, until we sometimes absolutely lost even the sound of the baying. Then they struck the fresh trail, where the cougar had killed a deer over night. In half an hour a clamorous yelling told us they had overtaken the quarry; for we had been riding up the slopes and along the crests, wherever it was possible for the horses to get footing. As we plunged and scrambled down towards the noise, one of my companions, Phil Stewart, stopped us while he took a kodak of a rabbit which sat unconcernedly right beside our path. Soon we saw the lion in a treetop, with two of the dogs so high up among the branches that he was striking at them. He was more afraid of us than of the dogs, and as soon as he saw us he took a great flying leap and was off, the pack close behind. In a few hundred yards they had him up another tree. Here I could have shot him (Tony climbed almost up to him, and then fell twenty feet out of the tree), but waited for Stewart to get a photo; and he jumped again. This time, after a couple of hundred yards, the dogs caught him, and a great fight followed. They could have killed him by themselves, but he bit or clawed four of them, and for fear he might kill one I ran in and stabbed him behind the shoulder, thrusting the knife you loaned me right into his heart. I have always wished to kill a cougar as I did this one, with dogs and the knife.

DOGS THAT CLIMB TREES

Keystone Ranch, Jan. 18, 1901.

DARLING LITTLE ETHEL:

I have had great fun. Most of the trip neither you nor Mother nor Sister would enjoy; but you would all of you be immensely amused with the dogs. There are eleven all told, but really only eight do very much hunting. These eight are all scarred with the wounds they have received this very week in battling with the cougars and lynxes, and they are always threatening to fight one another; but they are as affectionate toward men (and especially toward me, as I pet them) as our own home dogs. At this moment a large hound and a small half-breed bull-dog, both of whom were quite badly wounded this morning by a cougar, are shoving their noses into my lap to be petted, and humming defiance to one another. They are on excellent terms with the ranch cat and kittens. The three chief fighting dogs, who do not follow the trail, are the most affectionate of all, and, moreover, they climb trees! Yesterday we got a big lynx in the top of a pinon tree—a low, spreading kind of pine—about thirty feet tall. Turk, the bloodhound, followed him up, and after much sprawling actually got to the very top, within a couple of feet of him. Then, when the lynx was shot out of the tree, Turk, after a short scramble, took a header down through the branches, landing with a bounce on his back. Tony, one of the half-breed bull-dogs, takes such headers on an average at least once for every animal we put up a tree. We have nice little horses which climb the most extraordinary places you can imagine. Get Mother to show you some of Gustave Doré's trees; the trees on these mountains look just like them.

THE PIG NAMED MAUDE

Keystone Ranch, Jan. 29, 1901.

DARLING LITTLE ETHEL:

You would be much amused with the animals round the ranch. The most thoroughly independent and self-possessed of them is a large white pig which we have christened Maude. She goes everywhere at her own will; she picks up scraps from the dogs, who bay dismally at her, but know they have no right to kill her; and then she eats the green alfalfa hay from the two milch cows who live in the big corral with the horses. One of the dogs has just had a litter of puppies; you would love them, with their little wrinkled noses and squeaky voices.

ADVICE AND NEWS

Oyster Bay, May 7th, 1901.

BLESSED TED:

It was the greatest fun seeing you, and I really had a satisfactory time with you, and came away feeling that you were doing well. I am entirely satisfied with your standing, both in your studies and in athletics. I want you to do well in your sports, and I want even more to have you do well with your books; but I do not expect you to stand first in either, if so to stand could cause you overwork and hurt your health. I always believe in going hard at everything, whether it is Latin or mathematics, boxing or football, but at the same time I want to keep the sense of proportion. It is never worth while to absolutely exhaust one's self or to take big chances unless for an adequate object. I want you to keep in training the faculties which would make you, if the need arose, able to put your last ounce of pluck and strength into a contest. But I do not want you to squander these qualities. To have you play football as well as you do, and make a good name in boxing and wrestling, and be cox of your second crew, and

stand second or third in your class in the studies, is all right. I should be rather sorry to see you drop too near the middle of your class, because, as you cannot enter college until you are nineteen, and will therefore be a year later in entering life, I want you to be prepared in the best possible way, so as to make up for the delay. But I know that all you can do you will do to keep substantially the position in the class that you have so far kept, and I have entire trust in you, for you have always deserved it.

The weather has been lovely here. The cherry trees are in full bloom, the peach trees just opening, while the apples will not be out for ten days. The May flowers and bloodroot have gone, the anemones and bellwort have come and the violets are coming. All the birds are here, pretty much, and the warblers troop through the woods.

To my delight, yesterday Kermit, when I tried him on Diamond, did excellently. He has evidently turned the corner in his riding, and was just as much at home as possible, although he was on my saddle with his feet thrust in the leathers above the stirrup. Poor mother has had a hard time with Yagenka, for she rubbed her back, and as she sadly needs exercise and I could not have a saddle put upon her, I took her out bareback yesterday. Her gaits are so easy that it is really more comfortable to ride her without a saddle than to ride Texas with one, and I gave her three miles sharp cantering and trotting.

Dewey Jr. is a very cunning white guinea pig. I wish you could see Kermit taking out Dewey Sr. and Bob Evans to spend the day on the grass. Archie is the sweetest little fellow imaginable. He is always thinking of you. He has now struck up a great friendship with Nicholas, rather to Mame's (the nurse's) regret, as Mame would like to keep him purely for Quentin. The last-named small boisterous person was in fearful disgrace this morning, having flung a block at his mother's head. It was done in sheer playfulness, but of course could not be passed over lightly, and after the enormity of the crime

had been brought fully home to him, he fled with howls of anguish to me and lay in an abandon of yellow-headed grief in my arms. Ethel is earning money for the purchase of the Art Magazine by industriously hoeing up the weeds in the walk. Alice is going to ride Yagenka bareback this afternoon, while I try to teach Ethel on Diamond, after Kermit has had his ride.

Yesterday at dinner we were talking of how badly poor Mrs. Blank looked, and Kermit suddenly observed in an aside to Ethel, entirely unconscious that we were listening: "Oh, Effel, I'll tell you what Mrs. Blank looks like: Like Davis' hen dat died—you know, de one dat couldn't hop up on de perch." Naturally, this is purely a private anecdote.

ARCHIE AND QUENTIN

Oyster Bay, May 7, 1901.

BLESSED TED:

Recently I have gone in to play with Archie and Quentin after they have gone to bed, and they have grown to expect me, jumping up, very soft and warm in their tommies, expecting me to roll them over on the bed and tickle and "grabble" in them. However, it has proved rather too exciting, and an edict has gone forth that hereafter I must play bear with them before supper, and give up the play when they have gone to bed. To-day was Archie's birthday, and Quentin resented Archie's having presents while he (Quentin) had none. With the appalling frankness of three years old, he remarked with great sincerity that "it made him miserable," and when taken to task for his lack of altruistic spirit he expressed an obviously perfunctory repentance and said: "Well, boys must lend boys things, at any rate!"

INCIDENTS OF HOME-COMING

Oyster Bay, May 31st, 1901.

BLESSED TED:

I enclose some Filipino Revolutionary postage stamps. Maybe some of the boys would like them.

Have you made up your mind whether you would like to try shooting the third week in August or the last week in July, or would you rather wait until you come back when I can find out something more definite from Mr. Post?

We very much wished for you while we were at the (Buffalo) Exposition. By night it was especially beautiful. Alice and I also wished that you could have been with us when we were out riding at Geneseo. Major Wadsworth put me on a splendid big horse called Triton, and sister on a thoroughbred mare. They would jump anything. It was sister's first experience, but she did splendidly and rode at any fence at which I would first put Triton. I did not try anything very high, but still some of the posts and rails were about four feet high, and it was enough to test sister's seat. Of course, all we had to do was to stick on as the horses jumped perfectly and enjoyed it quite as much as we did. The first four or five fences that I went over I should be ashamed to say how far I bounced out of the saddle, but after a while I began to get into my seat again. It has been a good many years since I have jumped a fence.

Mother stopped off at Albany while sister went on to Boston, and I came on here alone Tuesday afternoon. St. Gaudens, the sculptor, and Dunne (Mr. Dooley) were on the train and took lunch with us. It was great fun meeting them and I liked them both. Kermit met me in high feather, although I did not reach the house until ten o'clock, and he sat by me and we exchanged anecdotes while I took my supper. Ethel had put an alarm clock under her head so as to be sure and wake up, but although it went off she continued to slumber

profoundly, as did Quentin. Archie waked up sufficiently to tell me that he had found another turtle just as small as the already existing treasure of the same kind. This morning Quentin and Black Jack have neither of them been willing to leave me for any length of time. Black Jack simply lies curled up in a chair, but as Quentin is most conversational, he has added an element of harassing difficulty to my effort to answer my accumulated correspondence.

Archie announced that he had seen "the Baltimore orioles catching fish!" This seemed to warrant investigation; but it turned out he meant barn swallows skimming the water.

The President not only sent "picture letters" to his own children, but an especial one to Miss Sarah Schuyler Butler, daughter of Doctor Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, who had written to him a little note of congratulation on his first birthday in the White House.

White House, Nov. 3d, 1901.

DEAR LITTLE MISS SARAH,

I like your birthday note *very* much; and my children say I should draw you two pictures in return.



We have a large blue macaw—Quentin calls him a polly-parrot—who lives in the greenhouse, and is very friendly, but

makes queer noises. He eats bread, potatoes, and coffee grains.

The children have a very cunning pony. He is a little pet, like a dog, but he plays tricks on them when they ride him.



He bucked Ethel over his head the other day.

Your father will tell you that these are pictures of the UNPOLISHED STONE PERIOD.

Give my love to your mother.

Your father's friend,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

UNCLE REMUS AND WHITE HOUSE PETS

(To Joel Chandler Harris)

White House, June 9, 1902.

MY DEAR MR. HARRIS:

Your letter was a great relief to Kermit, who always becomes personally interested in his favorite author, and who has been much worried by your sickness. He would be more than delighted with a copy of "Daddy Jake." Alice has it already, but Kermit eagerly wishes it.

Last night Mrs. Roosevelt and I were sitting out on the porch at the back of the White House, and were talking of you and wishing you could be sitting there with us. It is delightful at all times, but I think especially so after dark. The monument stands up distinct but not quite earthly in the

night, and at this season the air is sweet with the jasmine and honeysuckle.

All of the younger children are at present absorbed in various pets, perhaps the foremost of which is a puppy of the most orthodox puppy type. Then there is Jack, the terrier, and Sailor Boy, the Chesapeake Bay dog; and Eli, the most gorgeous macaw, with a bill that I think could bite through boiler plate, who crawls all over Ted, and whom I view with dark suspicion; and Jonathan, the piebald rat, of most friendly and affectionate nature, who also crawls all over everybody; and the flying squirrel, and two kangaroo rats; not to speak of Archie's pony, Algonquin, who is the most absolute pet of them all.

Mrs. Roosevelt and I have, I think, read all your stories to the children, and some of them over and over again.

THE DOG "GEM"

White House, Oct. 13, 1902.

BLESSED KERMIT:

I am delighted at all the accounts I receive of how you are doing at Groton. You seem to be enjoying yourself and are getting on well. I need not tell you to do your best to cultivate ability for concentrating your thought on whatever work you are given to do—you will need it in Latin especially. Who plays opposite you at end? Do you find you can get down well under the ball to tackle the full-back? How are you tackling?

Mother is going to present Gem to Uncle Will. She told him she did not think he was a good dog for the city; and therefore she gives him to Uncle Will to keep in the city. Uncle Will's emotion at such self-denying generosity almost overcame him. Gem is really a very nice small bow-wow, but Mother found that in this case possession was less attractive than pursuit. When she takes him out walking he carries her along as if she was a Roman chariot. She thinks that Uncle

Will or Eda can anchor him. Yesterday she and Ethel held him and got burrs out of his hair. It was a lively time for all three.

PRESIDENTIAL NURSE FOR GUINEA PIGS

(To Mrs. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward)

White House, Oct. 20, 1902.

At this moment, my small daughter being out, I am acting as nurse to two wee guinea pigs, which she feels would not be safe save in the room with me—and if I can prevent it I do not intend to have wanton suffering inflicted on any creature.

THANKSGIVING IN THE WHITE HOUSE

White House, Nov. 28, 1902.

DARLING KERMIT:

Yesterday was Thanksgiving, and we all went out riding, looking as we started a good deal like the Cumberbach family. Archie on his beloved pony, and Ethel on Yagenka went off with Mr. Proctor to the hunt. Mother rode Jocko Root, Ted a first-class cavalry horse, I rode Renown, and with us went Senator Lodge, Uncle Douglas, Cousin John Elliott, Mr. Bob Fergie, and General Wood. We had a three hours' scamper which was really great fun.

Yesterday I met Bozie for the first time since he came to Washington, and he almost wiggled himself into a fit, he was so overjoyed at renewing acquaintance. To see Jack and Tom Quartz play together is as amusing as it can be. We have never had a more cunning kitten than Tom Quartz. I have just had to descend with severity upon Quentin because he put the unfortunate Tom into the bathtub and then turned on the water. He didn't really mean harm.

Last evening, besides our own entire family party, all the Lodges, and their connections, came to dinner. We dined in

the new State Dining-room and we drank the health of you and all the rest of both families that were absent. After dinner we cleared away the table and danced. Mother looked just as pretty as a picture and I had a lovely waltz with her. Mrs. Lodge and I danced the Virginia Reel.

A WHITE HOUSE CHRISTMAS

(To Master James A. Garfield, Washington)

White House, Dec. 6, 1902.

JIMMIKINS:

Among all the presents I got I don't think there was one I appreciated more than yours; for I was brought up to admire and respect your grandfather, and I have a very great fondness and esteem for your father. It always seems to me as if you children were being brought up the way that mine are. Yesterday Archie got among his presents a small rifle from me and a pair of riding-boots from his mother. He won't be able to use the rifle until next summer, but he has gone off very happy in the riding boots for a ride on the calico pony Algonquin, the one you rode the other day. Yesterday morning at a quarter of seven all the children were up and dressed and began to hammer at the door of their mother's and my room, in which their six stockings, all bulging out with queer angles and rotundities, were hanging from the fireplace. So their mother and I got up, shut the window, lit the fire, taking down the stockings, of course, put on our wrappers and prepared to admit the children. But first there was a surprise for me, also for their good mother, for Archie had a little Christmas tree of his own which he had rigged up with the help of one of the carpenters in a big closet; and we all had to look at the tree and each of us got a present off of it. There was also one present each for Jack the dog, Tom Quartz the kitten, and Algonquin the pony, whom Archie would no more think of neglecting than I would neglect his brothers and sisters. Then all the children came into our bed

and there they opened their stockings. Afterwards we got dressed and took breakfast, and then all went into the library, where each child had a table set for his bigger presents. Quentin had a perfectly delightful electric railroad, which had been rigged up for him by one of his friends, the White House electrician, who has been very good to all the children. Then Ted and I, with General Wood and Mr. Bob Ferguson, who was a lieutenant in my regiment, went for a three hours' ride; and all of us, including all the children, took lunch at the house with the children's aunt, Mrs. Captain Cowles—Archie and Quentin having their lunch at a little table with their cousin Sheffield. Late in the afternoon I played at single stick with General Wood and Mr. Ferguson. I am going to get your father to come on and try it soon. We have to try to hit as light as possible, but sometimes we hit hard, and to-day I have a bump over one eye and a swollen wrist. Then all our family and kinsfolk and Senator and Mrs. Lodge's family and kinsfolk had our Christmas dinner at the White House, and afterwards danced in the East Room, closing up with the Virginia Reel.

TOM QUARTZ AND JACK

White House, Jan. 6, 1903.

DEAR KERMIT:

We felt very melancholy after you and Ted left and the house seemed empty and lonely. But it was the greatest possible comfort to feel that you both really have enjoyed school and are both doing well there.

Tom Quartz is certainly the cunningest kitten I have ever seen. He is always playing pranks on Jack and I get very nervous lest Jack should grow too irritated. The other evening they were both in the library—Jack sleeping before the fire—Tom Quartz scampering about, an exceedingly playful little wild creature—which is about what he is. He would race across the floor, then jump upon the curtain or play with the

tassel. Suddenly he spied Jack and galloped up to him. Jack, looking exceedingly sullen and shame-faced, jumped out of the way and got upon the sofa, where Tom Quartz instantly jumped upon him again. Jack suddenly shifted to the other sofa, where Tom Quartz again went after him. Then Jack started for the door, while Tom made a rapid turn under the sofa and around the table, and just as Jack reached the door leaped on his hindquarters. Jack bounded forward and away and the two went tandem out of the room—Jack not reappearing at all; and after about five minutes Tom Quartz stalked solemnly back.

Another evening the next Speaker of the House, Mr. Cannon, an exceedingly solemn, elderly gentleman with chin whiskers, who certainly does not look to be of playful nature, came to call upon me. He is a great friend of mine, and we sat talking over what our policies for the session should be until about eleven o'clock; and when he went away I accompanied him to the head of the stairs. He had gone about half-way down when Tom Quartz strolled by, his tail erect and very fluffy. He spied Mr. Cannon going down the stairs, jumped to the conclusion that he was a playmate escaping, and raced after him, suddenly grasping him by the leg the way he does Archie and Quentin when they play hide and seek with him; then loosening his hold he tore downstairs ahead of Mr. Cannon, who eyed him with iron calm and not one particle of surprise.

Ethel has reluctantly gone back to boarding-school. It is just after lunch and Dulany is cutting my hair while I dictate this to Mr. Loeb. I left Mother lying on the sofa and reading aloud to Quentin, who as usual has hung himself over the back of the sofa in what I should personally regard as an exceedingly uncomfortable attitude to listen to literature. Archie we shall not see until this evening, when he will suddenly challenge me either to a race or a bear play, and if neither invitation is accepted will then propose that I tell a pig story or else read aloud from the Norse folk tales.

A FAR WESTERN TRIP

In April, 1903, President Roosevelt made a trip to the Pacific coast, visiting Yellowstone Park and the Grand Canyon of Arizona.

TAME AND WILD CREATURES

Yellowstone Park, Wyoming,
April 16, 1903.

DARLING ETHEL:

I wish you could be here and see how tame all the wild creatures are. As I write a dozen of deer have come down to the parade grounds, right in front of the house, to get the hay; they are all looking at the bugler, who has begun to play the "retreat."

WESTERN CUSTOMS AND SCENERY

Del Monte, Cal., May 10, 1903.

DARLING ETHEL:

I have thought it very good of you to write me so much. Of course I am feeling rather fagged, and the next four days, which will include San Francisco, will be tiresome; but I am very well. This is a beautiful hotel in which we are spending Sunday, with gardens and a long seventeen-mile drive beside the beach and the rocks and among the pines and cypresses. I went on horseback. My horse was a little beauty, spirited, swift, sure-footed, and enduring. As is usually the case here they had a great deal of silver on the bridle and headstall, and much carving on the saddle. We had some splendid gallops. By the way, tell mother that everywhere out here, from the Mississippi to the Pacific, I have seen most of the girls riding astride, and most of the grown-up women. I must say I think it very much better for the horses' backs. I think by the time that you are an old lady the side-saddle will almost

have vanished—I am sure I hope so. I have forgotten whether you like the side-saddle or not.

It was very interesting going through New Mexico and seeing the strange old civilization of the desert, and next day the Grand Canyon of Arizona, wonderful and beautiful beyond description. I could have sat and looked at it for days. It is a tremendous chasm, a mile deep and several miles wide, the cliffs carved into battlements, amphitheatres, towers and pinnacles, and the coloring wonderful, red and yellow and gray and green. Then we went through the desert, passed across the Sierras and came into this semi-tropical country of southern California, with palms and orange groves and olive orchards and immense quantities of flowers.

TREASURES FOR THE CHILDREN

Del Monte, Cal., May 10, 1903.

BLESSED KERMIT:

The last weeks' travel I have really enjoyed. Last Sunday and to-day (Sunday) and also on Wednesday at the Grand Canyon I had long rides, and the country has been strange and beautiful. I have collected a variety of treasures, which I shall have to try to divide up equally among you children. One treasure, by the way, is a very small badger, which I named Josiah, and he is now called Josh for short. He is very cunning and I hold him in my arms and pet him. I hope he will grow up friendly—that is if the poor little fellow lives to grow up at all. Dulany is taking excellent care of him, and we feed him on milk and potatoes.

I have enjoyed meeting an old classmate of mine at Harvard. He was heavyweight boxing champion when I was in college.

I was much interested in your seeing the wild deer. That was quite remarkable. To-day, by the way, as I rode along the beach I saw seals, cormorants, gulls and ducks, all astonishingly tame.

MORE TREASURES

Del Monte, Cal., May 10, 1903.

BLESSED ARCHIE:

I think it was very cunning for you and Quentin to write me that letter together. I wish you could have been with me to-day on Algonquin, for we had a perfectly lovely ride. Dr. Rixey and I were on two very handsome horses, with Mexican saddles and bridles; the reins of very slender leather with silver rings. The road led through pine and cypress forests and along the beach. The surf was beating on the rocks in one place and right between two of the rocks where I really did not see how anything could swim a seal appeared and stood up on his tail half out of the foaming water and flapped his flippers, and was as much at home as anything could be. Beautiful gulls flew close to us all around, and cormorants swam along the breakers or walked along the beach.

I have a number of treasures to divide among you children when I get back. One of the treasures is Bill the Lizard. He is a little live lizard, called a horned frog, very cunning, who lives in a small box. The little badger, Josh, is very well and eats milk and potatoes. We took him out and gave him a run in the sand to-day. So far he seems as friendly as possible. When he feels hungry he squeals and the colored porters insist that he says "Du-la-ny, Du-la-ny," because Dulany is very good to him and takes care of him.

A HOMESICK PRESIDENT

Del Monte, Cal., May 10, 1903.

DEAREST QUENTY-QUEE:

I loved your letter. I am very homesick for mother and for you children; but I have enjoyed this week's travel. I have been among the orange groves, where the trees have oranges growing thick upon them, and there are more flowers than you have ever seen. I have a gold top which I shall

give you if mother thinks you can take care of it. Perhaps I shall give you a silver bell instead. Whenever I see a little boy being brought up by his father or mother to look at the procession as we pass by, I think of you and Archie and feel very homesick. Sometimes little boys ride in the procession on their ponies, just like Archie on Algonquin.

JOSIAH'S PASSIONATE DAY

Writing Senator Lodge on June 6, 1903, describing his return to the White House from his Western trip, the President said:

"Josiah, the young badger, is hailed with the wildest enthusiasm by the children, and has passed an affectionate but passionate day with us. Fortunately his temper seems proof."

LOVES AND SPORTS OF THE CHILDREN

(To Miss Emily T. Carow)

Oyster Bay, Aug. 6, 1903.

To-day is Edith's birthday, and the children have been too cunning in celebrating it. Ethel had hemstitched a little handkerchief herself, and she had taken her gift and the gifts of all the other children into her room and neatly wrapped them up in white paper and tied with ribbons. They were for the most part taken down-stairs and put at her plate at breakfast time. Then at lunch in marched Kermit and Ethel with a cake, burning forty-two candles, and each candle with a piece of paper tied to it purporting to show the animal or inanimate object from which the candle came. All the dogs and horses—Renown, Bleistein, Yagenka, Algonquin, Sailor Boy, Brier, Hector, etc., as well as Tom Quartz, the cat, the extraordinarily named hens—such as Baron Speckle and Fierce, and finally even the boats and that pomegranate which Edith gave Ker-

mit and which has always been known as Santiago, had each his or her or its tag on a special candle.

Edith is very well this summer and looks so young and pretty. She rides with us a great deal and loves Yagenka as much as ever. We also go out rowing together, taking our lunch and a book or two with us. The children fairly worship her, as they ought to, for a more devoted mother never was known. The children themselves are as cunning and good as possible. Ted is nearly as tall as I am and as tough and wiry as you can imagine. He is a really good rider and can hold his own in walking, running, swimming, shooting, wrestling, and boxing. Kermit is as cunning as ever and has developed greatly. He and his inseparable Philip started out for a night's camping in their best the other day. A driving storm came up and they had to put back, really showing both pluck, skill, and judgment. They reached home, after having been out twelve hours, at nine in the evening. Archie continues devoted to Algonquin and to Nicholas. Ted's playmates are George and Jack, Aleck Russell, who is in Princeton, and Ensign Hamner of the *Sylph*. They wrestle, shoot, swim, play tennis, and go off on long expeditions in the boats. Quenty-quee has cast off the trammels of the nursery and become a most active and fearless though very good-tempered little boy. Really the children do have an ideal time out here, and it is an ideal place for them. The three sets of cousins are always together. I am rather disconcerted by the fact that they persist in regarding me as a playmate. This afternoon, for instance, was rainy, and all of them from George, Ted, Lorraine, and Ethel down to Archibald, Nicholas, and Quentin, with the addition of Aleck Russell and Ensign Hamner, came to get me to play with them in the old barn. They plead so hard that I finally gave in, but upon my word, I hardly knew whether it was quite right for the President to be engaged in such wild romping as the next two hours saw. The barn is filled with hay, and of course meets every requirement for the most active species of hide-and-seek and the like. Quentin enjoyed the

game as much as any one, and would jump down from one hay level to another fifteen feet below with complete abandon.

I took Kermit and Archie, with Philip, Oliver, and Nicholas out for a night's camping in the two rowboats last week. They enjoyed themselves heartily, as usual, each sleeping rolled up in his blanket, and all getting up at an unearthly hour. Also, as usual, they displayed a touching and firm conviction that my cooking is unequalled. It was of a simple character, consisting of frying beefsteak first and then potatoes in bacon fat, over the camp fire; but they certainly ate in a way that showed their words were not uttered in a spirit of empty compliment.

A PRESIDENT AT PLAY

(To Miss Emily T. Carow)

Oyster Bay, Aug. 16, 1903.

Archie and Nick continue inseparable. I wish you could have seen them the other day, after one of the picnics, walking solemnly up, jointly carrying a basket, and each with a captured turtle in his disengaged hand. Archie is a most warm-hearted, loving, cunning little goose. Quentin, a merry soul, has now become entirely one of the children, and joins heartily in all their plays, including the romps in the old barn. When Ethel had her birthday, the one entertainment for which she stipulated was that I should take part in and supervise a romp in the old barn, to which all the Roosevelt children, Ensign Hamner of the *Sylph*, Bob Ferguson, and Aleck Russell were to come. Of course I had not the heart to refuse; but really it seems, to put it mildly, rather odd for a stout, elderly President to be bouncing over hay-ricks in a wild effort to get to goal before an active midget of a competitor, aged nine years. However, it was really great fun.

One of our recent picnics was an innovation, due to Edith. We went in carriages or on horseback to Jane's Hill, some

eight miles distant. The view was lovely, and there was a delightful old farmhouse half a mile away, where we left our horses. Speck (German Ambassador, Count Speck von Sternberg) rode with Edith and me, looking more like Hans Christian Andersen's little tin soldier than ever. His papers as Ambassador had finally come, and so he had turned up at Oyster Bay, together with the Acting Secretary of State, to present them. He appeared in what was really a very striking costume, that of a hussar. As soon as the ceremony was over, I told him to put on civilized raiment, which he did, and he spent a couple of days with me. We chopped, and shot, and rode together. He was delighted with Wyoming, and, as always, was extremely nice to the children.

The other day all the children gave amusing amateur theatricals, gotten up by Lorraine and Ted. The acting was upon Laura Roosevelt's tennis court. All the children were most cunning, especially Quentin as Cupid, in the scantiest of pink muslin tights and bodice. Ted and Lorraine, who were respectively George Washington and Cleopatra, really carried off the play. At the end all the cast joined hands in a song and dance, the final verse being devoted especially to me. I love all these children and have great fun with them, and I am touched by the way in which they feel that I am their special friend, champion, and companion.

To-day all, young and old, from the three houses went with us to Service on the great battleship *Kearsarge*—for the fleet is here to be inspected by me to-morrow. It was an impressive sight, one which I think the children will not soon forget. Most of the boys afterward went to lunch with the wretched Secretary Moody on the *Dolphin*. Ted had the younger ones very much on his mind, and when he got back said they had been altogether too much like a March Hare tea-party, as Archie, Nicholas, and Oliver were not alive to the dignity of the occasion.

TO TED ON A HUNTING TRIP

Oyster Bay, Aug. 25, 1903.

DEAR TED:

We have thought of you a good deal, of course. I am glad you have my rifle with you—you scamp, does it still have "those associations" which you alleged as the reason why you would value it so much when in the near future I became unable longer to use it? I do not have very much hope of your getting a great deal of sport on this trip, and anything you do get in the way of furred or feathered game and fishing I shall count as so much extra thrown in; but I feel the trip will teach you a lot in the way of handling yourself in a wild country, as well as of managing horses and camp outfits—of dealing with frontiersmen, etc. It will therefore fit you to go on a regular camping trip next time.

I have sternly refused to allow mother to ride Wyoming, on the ground that I would not have her make a martyr of herself in the shape of riding a horse with a single-foot gait, which she so openly detests. Accordingly, I have had some long and delightful rides with her, she on Yagenka and I on Bleistein, while Ethel and Kermit have begun to ride Wyoming. Kermit was with us this morning and got along beautifully till we galloped, whereupon Wyoming made up his mind that it was a race, and Kermit, for a moment or two, found him a handful.

On Sunday, after we came back from church and bathed, I rowed mother out to the end of Lloyds Neck, near your favorite camping ground. There we took lunch and spent a couple of hours with our books, reading a little and looking out over the beautiful Sound and at the headlands and white beaches of the coast. We rowed back through a strange, shimmering sunset.

I have played a little tennis since you left. Winty Chandler beat me two sets, but I beat him one. Alex. Russell beat me

a long deuce set, 10 to 8. To-day the smaller children held their championship. Nick won a long deuce set from Archie, and to my surprise Oliver and Ethel beat Kermit and Philip in two straight sets. I officiated as umpire and furnished the prizes, which were penknives.

END OF SUMMER AT OYSTER BAY

Oyster Bay, Sept. 23, 1903.

BLESSED KERMIT:

The house seems very empty without you and Ted, although I cannot conscientiously say that it is quiet—Archie and Quentin attend to that. Archie, barefooted, bareheaded, and with his usual faded blue overalls, much torn and patched, has just returned from a morning with his beloved Nick. Quentin has passed the morning in sports and pastimes with the long-suffering secret service men. Allan has been associating closely with mother and me. Yesterday Ethel went off riding with Lorraine. She rode Wyoming, who is really turning out a very good family horse. This evening I expect Grant La Farge and Owen Wister, who are coming to spend the night. Mother is as busy as possible putting up the house, and Ethel and I insist that she now eyes us both with a purely professional gaze, and secretly wishes she could wrap us up in a neatly pinned sheet with camphor balls inside. Good-bye, blessed fellow!

"VALUABLEST" KIND OF RABBITS

(To his sister, Mrs. W. S. Cowles)

White House, Oct. 2, 1903.

Tell Sheffield that Quentin is now going to the public school. As yet he has preserved an attitude of dignified reserve concerning his feelings on the subject. He has just been presented with two white rabbits, which he brought in while we

were at lunch yesterday, explaining that they were "the valuable kind with pink eyes."

A PREACHING LETTER

White House, Oct. 2, 1903.

DEAR KERMIT:

I was very glad to get your letter. Am glad you are playing football. I should be very sorry to see either you or Ted devoting most of your attention to athletics, and I haven't got any special ambition to see you shine overmuch in athletics at college, at least (if you go there), because I think it tends to take up too much time; but I do like to feel that you are manly and able to hold your own in rough, hardy sports. I would rather have a boy of mine stand high in his studies than high in athletics, but I would a great deal rather have him show true manliness of character than show either intellectual or physical prowess; and I believe you and Ted both bid fair to develop just such character.

There! you will think this a dreadfully preaching letter! I suppose I have a natural tendency to preach just at present because I am overwhelmed with my work. I enjoy being President, and I like to do the work and have my hand on the lever. But it is very worrying and puzzling, and I have to make up my mind to accept every kind of attack and misrepresentation. It is a great comfort to me to read the life and letters of Abraham Lincoln. I am more and more impressed every day, not only with the man's wonderful power and sagacity, but with his literally endless patience, and at the same time his unflinching resolution.

PROPER PLACE FOR SPORTS

White House, Oct. 4, 1903.

DEAR TED:

In spite of the "Hurry! Hurry!" on the outside of your envelope, I did not like to act until I had consulted Mother

and thought the matter over; and to be frank with you, old fellow, I am by no means sure that I am doing right now. If it were not that I feel you will be so bitterly disappointed, I would strongly advocate your acquiescing in the decision to leave you off the second squad this year. I am proud of your pluck, and I greatly admire football—though it was not a game I was ever able to play myself, my qualities resembling Kermit's rather than yours. But the very things that make it a good game make it a rough game, and there is always the chance of your being laid up. Now, I should not in the least object to your being laid up for a season if you were striving for something worth while, to get on the Groton school team, for instance, or on your class team when you entered Harvard—for of course I don't think you will have the weight to entitle you to try for the 'varsity. But I am by no means sure that it *is* worth your while to run the risk of being laid up for the sake of playing in the second squad when you are a fourth former, instead of when you are a fifth former. I do not know that the risk is balanced by the reward. However, I have told the Rector that as you feel so strongly about it, I think that the chance of your damaging yourself in body is outweighed by the possibility of bitterness of spirit if you could not play. Understand me, I should think mighty little of you if you permitted chagrin to make you bitter on some point where it was evidently right for you to suffer the chagrin. But in this case I am uncertain, and I shall give you the benefit of the doubt. If, however, the coaches at any time come to the conclusion that you ought not to be in the second squad, why you must come off without grumbling.

I am delighted to have you play football. I believe in rough, manly sports. But I do not believe in them if they degenerate into the sole end of any one's existence. I don't want you to sacrifice standing well in your studies to any over-athleticism; and I need not tell you that character counts for a great deal more than either intellect or body in winning success in life. Athletic proficiency is a mighty good servant, and like

so many other good servants, a mighty bad master. Did you ever read Pliny's letter to Trajan, in which he speaks of its being advisable to keep the Greeks absorbed in athletics, because it distracted their minds from all serious pursuits, including soldiering, and prevented their ever being dangerous to the Romans? I have not a doubt that the British officers in the Boer War had their efficiency partly reduced because they had sacrificed their legitimate duties to an inordinate and ridiculous love of sports. A man must develop his physical prowess up to a certain point; but after he has reached that point there are other things that count more. In my regiment nine-tenths of the men were better horsemen than I was, and probably two-thirds of them better shots than I was, while on the average they were certainly hardier and more enduring. Yet after I had had them a very short while they all knew, and I knew too, that nobody else could command them as I could. I am glad you should play football; I am glad that you should box; I am glad that you should ride and shoot and walk and row as well as you do. I should be very sorry if you did not do these things. But don't ever get into the frame of mind which regards these things as constituting the end to which all your energies must be devoted, or even the major portion of your energies.

Yes, I am going to speak at Groton on prize day. I felt that while I was President, and while you and Kermit were at Groton I wanted to come up there and see you, and the Rector wished me to speak, and so I am very glad to accept.

By the way, I am working hard to get Renown accustomed to automobiles. He is such a handful now when he meets them that I seriously mind encountering them when Mother is along. Of course I do not care if I am alone, or with another man, but I am uneasy all the time when I am out with Mother. Yesterday I tried Bleistein over the hurdles at Chevy Chase. The first one was new, high and stiff, and the old rascal never rose six inches, going slap through it. I took him at it again and he went over all right.

I am very busy now, facing the usual endless worry and discouragement, and trying to keep steadily in mind that I must not only be as resolute as Abraham Lincoln in seeking to achieve decent ends, but as patient, as uncomplaining, and as even-tempered in dealing, not only with knaves, but with the well-meaning foolish people, educated and uneducated, who by their unwisdom give the knaves their chance.

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CONCERNING GETTING "SMASHED"

White House, Oct. 11, 1903.

DEAR TED:

I have received letters from the Rector, from Mr. Woods, and from Mr. Billings. They all say that you should play on the third squad, and Mr. Woods says you are now satisfied to do so. This was my first, and as I am convinced, my real judgment in the case. If you get mashed up now in a serious way it may prevent your playing later. As I think I wrote you, I do not in the least object to your getting smashed if it is for an object that is worth while, such as playing on the Groton team or playing on your class team when you get to Harvard. But I think it a little silly to run any imminent risk of a serious smash simply to play on the second squad instead of the third.

I am judging for you as I would for myself. When I was young and rode across country I was light and tough, and if I did, as actually happened, break an arm or a rib no damage ensued and no scandal was caused. Now I am stiff and heavy, and any accident to me would cause immense talk, and I do not take the chance; simply because it is not worth while. On the other hand, if I should now go to war and have a brigade as I had my regiment before Santiago, I should take any chance that was necessary; because it would be worth while. In other words, I want to make the risk to a certain accident commensurate with the object gained.

THE ART OF UNCLE REMUS

(To Joel Chandler Harris)

White House, Oct. 12, 1903.

MY DEAR HARRIS:

It is worth while being President when one's small daughter receives that kind of an autograph gift. When I was younger than she is, my Aunt Annie Bulloch, of Georgia, used to tell me some of the brer rabbit stories, especially brer rabbit and the tar baby. But fond though I am of the brer rabbit stories I think I am even fonder of your other writings. I doubt if there is a more genuinely pathetic tale in all our literature than "Free Joe." Moreover I have felt that all that you write serves to bring our people closer together. I know, of course, the ordinary talk is that an artist should be judged purely by his art; but I am rather a Philistine and like to feel that the art serves a good purpose. Your art is not only an art addition to our sum of national achievement, but it has also always been an addition to the forces that tell for decency, and above all for the blotting out of sectional antagonism.

A RIDE AND A PILLOW FIGHT

White House, Oct. 19, 1903.

DEAR KERMIT:

I was much pleased at your being made captain of your eleven. I would rather have you captain of the third eleven than playing on the second.

Yesterday afternoon Ethel on Wyoming, Mother on Yagenka, and I on Renown had a long ride, the only incident being meeting a large red automobile, which much shook Renown's nerves, although he behaved far better than he has hitherto been doing about automobiles. In fact, he behaved so well that I leaned over and gave him a lump of sugar when he had passed

the object of terror—the old boy eagerly turning his head around to get it. It was lovely out in the country, with the trees at their very best of the fall coloring. There are no red maples here, but the Virginia creepers and some of the dogwoods give the red, and the hickories, tulip trees and beeches a brilliant yellow, sometimes almost orange.

When we got home Mother went up-stairs first and was met by Archie and Quentin, each loaded with pillows and whispering not to let me know that they were in ambush; then as I marched up to the top they assailed me with shrieks and chuckles of delight and then the pillow fight raged up and down the hall. After my bath I read them from Uncle Remus. Usually Mother reads them, but now and then, when I think she really must have a holiday from it, I read them myself.

STUDY AND PLAY

White House, Oct. 24, 1903.

DEAR TED:

I am really greatly pleased at your standing so high in your form, and I am sure that this year it is better for you to be playing where you are in football. I suppose next year you will go back to your position of end, as you would hardly be heavy enough for playing back, or to play behind the centre, against teams with big fellows. I repeat that your standing in the class gave me real pleasure. I have sympathized so much with your delight in physical prowess and have been so glad at the success you have had, that sometimes I have been afraid I have failed to emphasize sufficiently the fact that of course one must not subordinate study and work to the cultivation of such prowess. By the way, I am sorry to say that I am falling behind physically. The last two or three years I have had a tendency to rheumatism, or gout, or something of the kind, which makes me very stiff.

Renown is behaving better about automobiles and the like. I think the difference is largely in the way I handle him. He

is a very good-natured and gentle horse, but timid and not over-wise, and when in a panic his great strength makes him well-nigh uncontrollable. Accordingly, he is a bad horse to try to force by anything. If possible, it is much better to give him a little time, and bring him up as gently as may be to the object of terror. When he behaves well I lean forward and give him a lump of sugar, and now the old boy eagerly puts around his head when I stretch out my hand. Bleistein I have ridden very little, because I think one of his forelegs is shaky, and I want to spare him all I can. Mother and I have had the most lovely rides imaginable.

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QUENTIN'S FIRST FALL

White House, Oct. 24, 1903.

DEAR KERMIT:

Yesterday I felt rather seedy, having a touch of Cuban fever, my only unpleasant reminiscence of the Santiago campaign. Accordingly, I spent the afternoon in the house lying on the sofa, with a bright fire burning and Mother in the rocking-chair, with her knitting, beside me. I felt so glad that I was not out somewhere in the wilderness, campaigning or hunting, where I would have to walk or ride all day in the rain and then lie out under a bush at night!

When Allan will come from the trainer's I do not know. Rather to my surprise, Ronald has won golden opinions and really is a very nice dog. Pinckney loves him, and he sits up in the express wagon just as if it was what he had been born to.

Quentin is learning to ride the pony. He had one tumble, which, he remarked philosophically, did not hurt him any more than when I whacked him with a sofa cushion in one of our pillow fights. I think he will very soon be able to manage the pony by himself.

Mother has just taken the three children to spend the afternoon at Dr. Rixey's farm. I am hard at work on my message to Congress, and accordingly shall not try to go out or see any one either this afternoon or this evening. All of this work is terribly puzzling at times, but I peg away at it, and every now and then, when the dust clears away and I look around, I feel that I really have accomplished a little, at any rate.

I think you stood well in your form, taking everything into account. I feel you deserve credit for being captain of your football eleven and yet standing as high as you do in your class.

HOMESICK FOR SAGAMORE HILL

White House, Nov. 4, 1903.

DEAR TED:

Three cheers for Groton! It was first-class.

On election day I saw the house, and it was all so lovely that I felt fairly homesick to be back in it. The Japanese maples were still in full leaf and were turning the most beautiful shades of scarlet imaginable. The old barn, I am sorry to say, seems to be giving away at one end.

Renown now behaves very well about automobiles, and indeed about everything. He is, however, a little touched in the wind. Bleistein, in spite of being a little shaky in one foreleg, is in splendid spirits and eager for any amount of go. When you get on here for the Christmas holidays you will have to try them both, for if there is any fox hunting I am by no means sure you will find it better to take Bleistein than Renown.

Sister is very handsome and good, having had a delightful time.

That was a funny trick which the Indians played against Harvard. Harvard did well to play such a successful uphill game in the latter part of the second half as to enable them

to win out; but I do not see how she stands a chance of success against Yale this year.

JOY OVER A FOOTBALL VICTORY

White House, Nov. 4, 1903.

DEAR KERMIT:

To-night while I was preparing to dictate a message to Congress concerning the boiling caldron on the Isthmus of Panama, which has now begun to bubble over, up came one of the ushers with a telegram from you and Ted about the football match. Instantly I bolted into the next room to read it aloud to mother and sister, and we all cheered in unison when we came to the Rah! Rah! Rah! part of it. It was a great score. I wish I could have seen the game.

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VICE-MOTHER OF THE CHILDREN

White House, Nov. 15, 1903.

DEAR KERMIT:

Didn't I tell you about Hector, Brier, and Sailor Boy [dogs] when I saw them on election day? They were in excellent health, lying around the door of Seaman's house, which they had evidently adopted as their own. Sailor Boy and Brier were exceedingly affectionate; Hector kindly, but uninterested.

Mother has gone off for nine days, and as usual I am acting as vice-mother. Archie and Quentin are really too cunning for anything. Each night I spend about three-quarters of an hour reading to them. I first of all read some book like Algonquin Indian Tales, or the poetry of Scott or Macaulay. Once I read them Jim Bludsoe, which perfectly enthralled them and made Quentin ask me at least a hundred questions, including one as to whether the colored boy did not find sitting on the safety valve hot. I have also been reading them each

evening from the Bible. It has been the story of Saul, David, and Jonathan. They have been so interested that several times I have had to read them more than one chapter. Then each says his prayers and repeats the hymn he is learning, Quentin usually jiggling solemnly up and down while he repeats it. Each finally got one hymn perfect, whereupon in accordance with previous instructions from mother I presented each of them with a five-cent piece. Yesterday [Saturday] I took both of them and Ethel, together with the three elder Garfield boys, for a long scramble down Rock Creek. We really had great fun.

QUENTIN'S SIXTH BIRTHDAY

White House, Nov. 19, 1903.

DEAR KERMIT:

I was much pleased at your being chosen captain of the Seventh. I had not expected it. I rather suspect that you will be behind in your studies this month. If so, try to make up next month, and keep above the middle of the class if you can. I am interested in what you tell me about the Sir Galahads, and I shall want to talk to you about them when you come on.

Mother is back with Aunt Emily, who looks very well. It is so nice to have her. As for Mother, of course she makes the house feel like a home again, instead of like a temporary dwelling.

Leo is as cunning as ever. Pinckney went to see Allan yesterday and said he found him "as busy as a bee in a tar barrel," and evidently owning all the trainer's house. He is not yet quite fit to come back here.

To-day is Quentin's birthday. He has a cold, so he had his birthday cake, with the six candles, and his birthday ice-cream, in the nursery, with Ethel, Archie, Mother, Aunt Emily, myself, Mame, and Georgette as admiring guests and on-lookers.

A PRESIDENT'S POOR PROTECTION

White House, Nov. 28, 1903.

DEAR KERMIT:

It was very sad at Uncle Gracie's funeral; and yet lovely, too, in a way, for not only all his old friends had turned out, but all of the people connected with the institutions for which he had worked during so many years also came. There were a good many of the older boys and employees from the News-boys' Lodging House and the Orthopædic Dispensary, etc. Uncle Jimmy possessed a singularly loving and affectionate nature, and I never knew any one who in doing good was more careful to do it unostentatiously. I had no idea how much he had done. Mother with her usual thoughtfulness had kept him steadily in mind while I have been Governor and President; and I now find that he appreciated her so much, her constant remembrances in having him on to visit us on different occasions. It was a lesson to me, for I should probably never have thought of it myself; and of course when one does not do what one ought to, the excuse that one erred from thoughtlessness instead of wrong purpose is of small avail.

The police arrangements at the church were exasperating to a degree. There were fully five hundred policemen in the streets round about, just as if there was danger of an attack by a ferocious mob; and yet though they had throngs of policemen inside, too, an elderly and harmless crank actually got inside with them to present me some foolish memorial about curing the German Emperor from cancer. Inasmuch as what we needed was, not protection against a mob, but a sharp lookout for cranks, the arrangement ought by rights to have been for fifty policemen outside and two or three good detectives inside. I felt like a fool with all the policemen in solemn and purposeless lines around about; and then I felt half exasperated and half amused when I found that they were utterly helpless to prevent a crank from getting inside after all.

P. S.—I enclose two original poems by Nick and Archie. They refer to a bit of unhappy advice I gave them, because of which I fell into richly merited disgrace with Mother. Nick has been spending three days or so with Archie, and I suggested that they should explore the White House in the mirk of midnight. They did, in white sheets, and, like little jacks, bare-footed. Send me back the poems.

TED'S SPRAINED ANKLE

White House, Nov. 28, 1903.

DEAR TED:

If I were you I should certainly get the best ankle support possible. You do not want to find next fall that Webb beats you for end because your ankle gives out and his does not. If I were in your place, if it were necessary, I should put the ankle in plaster for the next three weeks, or for as long as the doctor thinks it needful, rather than run any risk of this. At any rate, I would consult him and wear whatever he thinks is the right thing.

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I wonder if you are old enough yet to care for a good history of the American Revolution. If so, I think I shall give you mine by Sir George Trevelyan; although it is by an Englishman, I really think it on the whole the best account I have read. If I give it to you you must be very careful of it, because he sent it to me himself.

P. S.—The Bond parrot for mother has turned up; it is a most meritorious parrot, very friendly, and quite a remarkable talker.

THE SUPREME CHRISTMAS JOY

(To his sister, Mrs. Douglas Robinson)

White House, Dec. 26, 1903.

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We had a delightful Christmas yesterday—just such a Christmas thirty or forty years ago we used to have under Father's and Mother's supervision in 20th street and 57th street. At seven all the children came in to open the big, bulgy stockings in our bed; Kermit's terrier, Allan, a most friendly little dog, adding to the children's delight by occupying the middle of the bed. From Alice to Quentin, each child was absorbed in his or her stocking, and Edith certainly managed to get the most wonderful stocking toys. Bob was in looking on, and Aunt Emily, of course. Then, after breakfast, we all formed up and went into the library, where bigger toys were on separate tables for the children. I wonder whether there ever can come in life a thrill of greater exaltation and rapture than that which comes to one between the ages of say six and fourteen, when the library door is thrown open and you walk in to see all the gifts, like a materialized fairy land, arrayed on your special table?

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A DAY WITH A JUGGLER

White House, Jan. 18, 1904.

DEAR KERMIT:

Thursday and Friday there was a great deal of snow on the ground, and the weather was cold, so that Mother and I had two delightful rides up Rock Creek. The horses were clipped and fresh, and we were able to let them go along at a gallop, while the country was wonderfully beautiful.

To-day, after lunch, Mother took Ethel, Archie, and Quentin, each with a friend, to see some most wonderful juggling and sleight of hand tricks by Kellar. I went along and was as much interested as any of the children, though I had to come back to my work in the office before it was half through. At one period Ethel gave up her ring for one of the tricks. It was mixed up with the rings of five other little girls, and then all six rings were apparently pounded up and put into a pistol and shot into a collection of boxes, where five of them were subsequently found, each tied around a rose. Ethel's, however, had disappeared, and he made believe that it had vanished, but at the end of the next trick a remarkable bottle, out of which many different liquids had been poured, suddenly developed a delightful white guinea pig, squirming and kicking and looking exactly like Admiral Dewey, with around its neck Ethel's ring, tied by a pink ribbon. Then it was wrapped up in a paper, handed to Ethel; and when Ethel opened it, behold, there was no guinea pig, but a bunch of roses with a ring.

MERITS OF MILITARY AND CIVIL LIFE

White House, Jan. 21, 1904.

DEAR TED:

This will be a long business letter. I sent to you the examination papers for West Point and Annapolis. I have thought a great deal over the matter, and discussed it at great length with Mother. I feel on the one hand that I ought to give you my best advice, and yet on the other hand I do not wish to seem to constrain you against your wishes. If you have definitely made up your mind that you have an overmastering desire to be in the Navy or the Army, and that such a career is the one in which you will take a really heart-felt interest—far more so than any other—and that your greatest chance for happiness and usefulness will lie in doing this one work to which you feel yourself especially drawn—why, under such

circumstances, I have but little to say. But I am not satisfied that this is really your feeling. It seemed to me more as if you did not feel drawn in any other direction, and wondered what you were going to do in life or what kind of work you would turn your hand to, and wondered if you could make a success or not; and that you are therefore inclined to turn to the Navy or Army chiefly because you would then have a definite and settled career in life, and could hope to go on steadily without any great risk of failure. Now, if such is your thought, I shall quote to you what Captain Mahan said of his son when asked why he did not send him to West Point or Annapolis. "I have too much confidence in him to make me feel that it is desirable for him to enter either branch of the service."

I have great confidence in you. I believe you have the ability and, above all, the energy, the perseverance, and the common sense, to win out in civil life. That you will have some hard times and some discouraging times I have no question; but this is merely another way of saying that you will share the common lot. Though you will have to work in different ways from those in which I worked, you will not have to work any harder, nor to face periods of more discouragement. I trust in your ability, and especially your character, and I am confident you will win.

In the Army and the Navy the chance for a man to show great ability and rise above his fellows does not occur on the average more than once in a generation. When I was down at Santiago it was melancholy for me to see how fossilized and lacking in ambition, and generally useless, were most of the men of my age and over, who had served their lives in the Army. The Navy for the last few years has been better, but for twenty years after the Civil War there was less chance in the Navy than in the Army to practise, and do, work of real consequence. I have actually known lieutenants in both the Army and the Navy who were grandfathers—men who had seen their children married before they themselves attained

the grade of captain. Of course the chance may come at any time when the man of West Point or Annapolis who will have stayed in the Army or Navy finds a great war on, and therefore has the opportunity to rise high. Under such circumstances, I think that the man of such training who has actually left the Army or the Navy has even more chance of rising than the man who has remained in it. Moreover, often a man can do as I did in the Spanish War, even though not a West Pointer.

This last point raises the question about you going to West Point or Annapolis and leaving the Army or Navy after you have served the regulation four years (I think that is the number) after graduation from the academy. Under this plan you would have an excellent education and a grounding in discipline and, in some ways, a testing of your capacity greater than I think you can get in any ordinary college. On the other hand, except for the profession of an engineer, you would have had nothing like special training, and you would be so ordered about, and arranged for, that you would have less independence of character than you could gain from them. You would have had fewer temptations; but you would have had less chance to develop the qualities which overcome temptations and show that a man has individual initiative. Supposing you entered at seventeen, with the intention of following this course. The result would be that at twenty-five you would leave the Army or Navy without having gone through any law school or any special technical school of any kind, and would start your life work three or four years later than your school-fellows of to-day, who go to work immediately after leaving college. Of course, under such circumstances, you might study law, for instance, during the four years after graduation; but my own feeling is that a man does good work chiefly when he is in something which he intends to make his permanent work, and in which he is deeply interested. Moreover, there will always be the chance that the number of officers in the Army or Navy will be deficient, and that you

would have to stay in the service instead of getting out when you wished.

I want you to think over all these matters very seriously. It would be a great misfortune for you to start into the Army or Navy as a career, and find that you had mistaken your desires and had gone in without really weighing the matter.

You ought not to enter unless you feel genuinely drawn to the life as a life-work. If so, go in; but not otherwise.

Mr. Loeb told me to-day that at 17 he had tried for the army, but failed. The competitor who beat him in is now a captain; Mr. Loeb has passed him by, although meanwhile a war has been fought. Mr. Loeb says he wished to enter the army because he did not know what to do, could not foresee whether he would succeed or fail in life, and felt the army would give him "a living and a career." Now if this is at bottom your feeling I should advise you not to go in; I should say yes to some boys, but not to you; I believe in you too much, and have too much confidence in you.

ROOT AND TAFT

White House, Feb. 6, 1904.

DEAR TED.

I was glad to hear that you were to be confirmed.

Secretary Root left on Monday and Governor Taft took his place. I have missed, and shall miss, Root dreadfully. He has been the ablest, most generous, and most disinterested friend and adviser that any President could hope to have; and immediately after leaving he rendered me a great service by a speech at the Union League Club, in which he said in most effective fashion the very things I should have liked him to say; and his words, moreover, carried weight as the words of no other man at this time addressing such an audience could have done. Taft is a splendid fellow and will be an aid and comfort in every way. But, as mother says, he is too much

like me to be able to give me as good advice as Mr. Root was able to do because of the very differences of character between us.

If after fully thinking the matter over you remain firmly convinced that you want to go into the army, well and good. I shall be rather sorry for your decision, because I have great confidence in you and I believe that in civil life you could probably win in the end a greater prize than will be open to you if you go into the army—though, of course, a man can do well in the army. I know perfectly well that you will have hard times in civil life. Probably most young fellows when they have graduated from college, or from their post-graduate course, if they take any, feel pretty dismal for the first few years. In ordinary cases it at first seems as if their efforts were not leading anywhere, as if the pressure around the foot of the ladder was too great to permit of getting up to the top. But I have faith in your energy, your perseverance, your ability, and your power to force yourself to the front when you have once found out and taken your line. However, you and I and mother will talk the whole matter over when you come back here on Easter.

SENATOR HANNA'S DEATH

White House, Feb. 19, 1904.

DEAR TED:

Poor Hanna's death was a tragedy. At the end he wrote me a note, the last he ever wrote, which showed him at his best, and which I much appreciate. His death was very sad for his family and close friends, for he had many large and generous traits, and had made a great success in life by his energy, perseverance and burly strength.

Buffalo Bill was at lunch the other day, together with John Willis, my old hunter. Buffalo Bill has always been a great friend of mine. I remember when I was running for Vice-

President I struck a Kansas town just when the Wild West show was there. He got upon the rear platform of my car and made a brief speech on my behalf, ending with the statement that "a cyclone from the West had come; no wonder the rats hunted their cellars!"

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As for you, I think the West Point education is, of course, good for any man, but I still think that you have too much in you for me to be glad to see you go into the Army, where in time of peace progress is so much a matter of routine.

IRRITATING REMARK BY QUENTIN

White House, Feb. 27, 1904.

DEAR KERMIT:

Mother went off for three days to New York and Mame and Quentin took instant advantage of her absence to fall sick. Quentin's sickness was surely due to a riot in candy and ice-cream with chocolate sauce. He was a very sad bunny next morning and spent a couple of days in bed. Ethel, as always, was as good as gold both to him and to Archie, and largely relieved me of my duties as vice-mother. I got up each morning in time to breakfast with Ethel and Archie before they started for school, and I read a certain amount to Quentin, but this was about all. I think Archie escaped with a minimum of washing for the three days. One day I asked him before Quentin how often he washed his face, whereupon Quentin interpolated, "very seldom, I fear," which naturally produced from Archie violent recriminations of a strongly personal type. Mother came back yesterday, having thoroughly enjoyed Parsifal. All the horses continue sick.

JAPANESE WRESTLING

White House, March 5, 1904.

DEAR KERMIT:

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I am wrestling with two Japanese wrestlers three times a week. I am not the age or the build one would think to be whirled lightly over an opponent's head and batted down on a mattress without damage. But they are so skilful that I have not been hurt at all. My throat is a little sore, because once when one of them had a strangle hold I also got hold of his windpipe and thought I could perhaps choke him off before he could choke me. However, he got ahead.

White House, April 9, 1904.

DEAR TED:

I am very glad I have been doing this Japanese wrestling, but when I am through with it this time I am not at all sure I shall ever try it again while I am so busy with other work as I am now. Often by the time I get to five o'clock in the afternoon I will be feeling like a stewed owl, after an eight hours' grapple with Senators, Congressmen, etc.; then I find the wrestling a trifle too vehement for mere rest. My right ankle and my left wrist and one thumb and both great toes are swollen sufficiently to more or less impair their usefulness, and I am well mottled with bruises elsewhere. Still I have made good progress, and since you left they have taught me three new throws that are perfect corkers.

LOVE FOR THE WHITE HOUSE

White House, May 28, 1904.

DEAR TED:

I am having a reasonable amount of work and rather more than a reasonable amount of worry. But, after all, life is lovely here. The country is beautiful, and I do not think that any two people ever got more enjoyment out of the White House than Mother and I. We love the house itself, without and within, for its associations, for its stillness and its simplicity. We love the garden. And we like Washington. We almost always take our breakfast on the south portico now, Mother looking very pretty and dainty in her summer dresses. Then we stroll about the garden for fifteen or twenty minutes, looking at the flowers and the fountain and admiring the trees. Then I work until between four and five, usually having some official people to lunch—now a couple of Senators, now a couple of Ambassadors, now a literary man, now a capitalist or a labor leader, or a scientist, or a big-game hunter. If Mother wants to ride, we then spend a couple of hours on horseback. We had a lovely ride up on the Virginia shore since I came back, and yesterday went up Rock Creek and swung back home by the roads where the locust trees were most numerous—for they are now white with blossoms. It is the last great burst of bloom which we shall see this year except the laurels. But there are plenty of flowers in bloom or just coming out, the honeysuckle most conspicuously. The south portico is fragrant with that now. The jasmine will be out later. If we don't ride I walk or play tennis. But I am afraid Ted has gotten out of his father's class in tennis!

PETER RABBIT'S FUNERAL

White House, May 28, 1904.

DEAR KERMIT:

It was great fun seeing you and Ted, and I enjoyed it to the full.

Ethel, Archie, and Quentin have gone to Mount Vernon to-day with the Garfield boys. Yesterday poor Peter Rabbit died and his funeral was held with proper state. Archie, in his overalls, dragged the wagon with the little black coffin in which poor Peter Rabbit lay. Mother walked behind as chief mourner, she and Archie solemnly exchanging tributes to the worth and good qualities of the departed. Then he was buried, with a fuchsia over the little grave.

You remember Kenneth Grahame's account of how Harold went to the circus and sang the great spheral song of the circus? Well, yesterday Mother leaned out of her window and heard Archie, swinging under a magnolia tree, singing away to himself, "I'm going to Sagamore, to Sagamore, to Sagamore. I'm going to Sagamore, oh, to Sagamore!" It was his spheral song of joy and thanksgiving.

The children's delight at going to Sagamore next week has completely swallowed up all regret at leaving Mother and me. Quentin is very cunning. He and Archie love to play the hose into the sandbox and then, with their thigh rubber boots on, to get in and make fortifications. Now and then they play it over each other. Ethel is playing tennis quite a good deal.

I think Yagenka is going to come out all right, and Bleistein, too. I have no hope for Wyoming or Renown. Fortunately, Rusty is serving us well.

White House, June 12th, 1904.

BLESSED QUENTY-QUEE:

The little birds in the nest in the vines on the garden fence are nearly grown up. Their mother still feeds them.



You see the mother bird with a worm in her beak, and the little birds with their beaks wide open!



I was out walking the other day and passed the Zoo; there I fed with grass some of the two-year-old elk; the bucks had their horns "in the velvet." I fed them through the bars.

White House, June 12th, 1904.

BLESSED ARCHIE-KINS:

Give my love to Mademoiselle; I hope you and Quenty are *very* good with her—and don't play in the library!

I loved your letter, and think you were very good to write.

All kinds of live things are sent me from time to time. The other day an eagle came; this morning an owl.



(I have drawn him holding a rat in one claw.)

We sent both to the Zoo.

The other day while walking with Mr. Pinchot and Mr. Garfield we climbed into the Blagden deer park and almost walked over such a pretty wee fawn, all spotted; it ran off like a little race horse.



It made great jumps and held its white tail straight in the air.

White House, June 21, 1904.

DEAR QUENTY-QUEE:

The other day when out riding what should I see in the road ahead of me but a real B'rer Terrapin and B'rer Rabbit. They

were sitting solemnly beside one another and looked just as if they had come out of a book; but as my horse walked along



B'rer Rabbit went lippity lippity lippity off into the bushes and B'rer Terrapin drew in his head and legs till I passed.

CHARMS OF VALLEY FORGE

White House, June 21, 1904.

DEAREST ETHEL:

I think you are a little trump and I love your letter, and the way you take care of the children and keep down the expenses and cook bread and are just your own blessed busy cunning self. You would have enjoyed being at Valley Forge with us on Sunday. It is a beautiful place, and, of course, full of historic associations. The garden here is lovely. A pair of warbling vireos have built in a linden and sing all the time. The lindens, by the way, are in bloom, and Massachusetts Avenue is fragrant with them. The magnolias are all in bloom, too, and the jasmine on the porch.

WASHINGTON'S COMPANIONS AT VALLEY FORGE

White House, June 21, 1904.

DEAR TED:

Mother and I had a most lovely ride the other day, way up beyond Sligo Creek to what is called Northwest Branch, at Burnt Mills, where is a beautiful gorge, deep and narrow, with great boulders and even cliffs. Excepting Great Falls it is

WHITE HOUSE.

WASHINGTON

June 22^d
1904

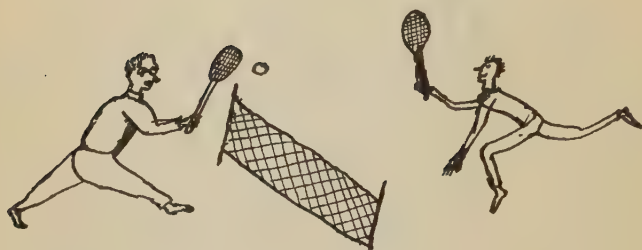
Darling Ethel,
Here goes for the
picture letter!



Ethel administers necessary
discipline to Archie and
Quentin.

Facsimile of letter—reduced.

Ethel gives sick Yagenka
a bottle of medicine



Father plays tennis
with Mr. Coolay.
[Father's shape & spectacles are reproduced
with photographic fidelity; also notice.]

Leo chases a squirrel
which fortunately he can't catch



A nice policeman feeding
a squirrel with bread;
I fed two with bread
this afternoon.

Mr. Cooley's mile

There! My invention
has given out! Mother is
Aunt- Emily have been
on a picnic down the
river with several cousins;
we have been sitting
on the portico in the
moonlight! Sister is
very good.

Your loving
father

the most beautiful place around here. Mother scrambled among the cliffs in her riding habit, very pretty and most interesting. The roads were good and some of the scenery really beautiful. We were gone four hours, half an hour being occupied with the scrambling in the gorge.

Saturday we went to the wedding of Teddy Douglas and Helen. It was a beautiful wedding in every way and I am very fond of both of them. Sunday we spent at Attorney-General Knox's at Valley Forge, and most unexpectedly I had to deliver a little address at the church in the afternoon, as they are trying to build a memorial to Washington. Think of the fact that in Washington's army that winter among the junior officers were Alexander Hamilton, Monroe, and Marshall—a future President of the United States, the future Chief Justice who was to do such wonderful work for our Government, and the man of most brilliant mind—Hamilton—whom we have ever developed in this country.

ON THE EVE OF NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT

White House, June 21, 1904.

DEAR KERMIT:

We spent to-day at the Knoxes'. It is a beautiful farm—just such a one as you could run. Phil Knox, as capable and efficient as he is diminutive, amused Mother and me greatly by the silent way in which he did in first-rate way his full share of all the work.

To-morrow the National Convention meets, and barring a cataclysm I shall be nominated. There is a great deal of sullen grumbling, but it has taken more the form of resentment against what they think is my dictation as to details than against me personally. They don't dare to oppose me for the nomination and I suppose it is hardly likely the attempt will be made to stampede the Convention for any one. How the election will turn out no man can tell. Of course I hope to be elected, but I realize to the full how very lucky I have

been, not only to be President but to have been able to accomplish so much while President, and whatever may be the outcome, I am not only content but very sincerely thankful for all the good fortune I have had. From Panama down I have been able to accomplish certain things which will be of lasting importance in our history. Incidentally, I don't think that any family has ever enjoyed the White House more than we have. I was thinking about it just this morning when Mother and I took breakfast on the portico and afterwards walked about the lovely grounds and looked at the stately historic old house. It is a wonderful privilege to have been here and to have been given the chance to do this work, and I should regard myself as having a small and mean mind if in the event of defeat I felt soured at not having had more instead of being thankful for having had so much.

BILL THE LIZARD

BLESSED ARCHIKINS:

White House, June 21, 1904.

The other day when Mother and I were walking down the steps of the big south porch we saw a movement among the honeysuckles and there was Bill the lizard—your lizard that you brought home from Mount Vernon. We have seen him several times since and he is evidently entirely at home here. The White House seems big and empty without any of you children puttering around it, and I think the ushers miss you very much. I play tennis in the late afternoons unless I go to ride with Mother.

ON THE EVE OF ELECTION

DARLING KERMIT:

White House, Oct. 15, 1904.

The weather has been beautiful the last week—mild, and yet with the true feeling of Fall in the air. When Mother and

I have ridden up Rock Creek through the country round about, it has been a perpetual delight just to look at the foliage. I have never seen leaves turn more beautifully. The Virginia creepers and some of the maple and gum trees are scarlet and crimson. The oaks are deep red brown. The beeches, birches, and hickories are brilliant saffron. Just at this moment I am dictating while on my way with Mother to the wedding of Senator Knox's daughter, and the country is a blaze of color as we pass through it, so that it is a joy to the eye to look upon it. I do not think I have ever before seen the colorings of the woods so beautiful so far south as this. Ted is hard at work with Matt. Hale, who is a very nice fellow and has become quite one of the household, like good Mademoiselle. I am really fond of her. She is so bright and amusing and now seems perfectly happy, and is not only devoted to Archie and Quentin but is very wise in the way she takes care of them. Quentin, under parental duress, rides Algonquin every day. Archie has just bought himself a football suit, but I have not noticed that he has played football as yet. He is spending Saturday and Sunday out at Dr. Rixey's. Ted plays tennis with Matt. Hale and me and Mr. Cooley. We tried Dan Moore. You could beat him. Yesterday I took an afternoon off and we all went for a scramble and climb down the other side of the Potomac from Chain Bridge home. It was great fun. To-morrow (Sunday) we shall have lunch early and spend the afternoon in a drive of the entire family, including Ethel, but not including Archie and Quentin, out to Burnt Mills and back. When I say we all scrambled along the Potomac, I of course only meant Matt. Hale and Ted and I. Three or four active male friends took the walk with us.

In politics things at the moment seem to look quite right, but every form of lie is being circulated by the Democrats, and they intend undoubtedly to spring all kinds of sensational untruths at the very end of the campaign. I have not any idea whether we will win or not. Before election I shall send you my guess as to the way the different States will vote, and then

you can keep it and see how near to the truth I come. But of course you will remember that it is a mere guess, and that I may be utterly mistaken all along the line. In any event, even if I am beaten you must remember that we have had three years of great enjoyment out of the Presidency and that we are mighty lucky to have had them.

I generally have people in to lunch, but at dinner, thank fortune, we are usually alone. Though I have callers in the evening, I generally have an hour in which to sit with Mother and the others up in the library, talking and reading and watching the bright wood fire. Ted and Ethel, as well as Archie and Quentin, are generally in Mother's room for twenty minutes or a half hour just before she dresses, according to immemorial custom.

Last evening Mother and I and Ted and Ethel and Matt. Hale went to the theatre to see "The Yankee Consul," which was quite funny.

BIG JIM WHITE

White House, Dec. 3, 1904.

BLESSED KERMIT:

The other day while Major Loeffler was marshalling the usual stream of visitors from England, Germany, the Pacific slope, etc., of warm admirers from remote country places, of bridal couples, etc., etc., a huge man about six feet four, of middle age, but with every one of his great sinews and muscles as fit as ever, came in and asked to see me on the ground that he was a former friend. As the line passed he was introduced to me as Mr. White. I greeted him in the usual rather perfunctory manner, and the huge, rough-looking fellow shyly remarked, "Mr. Roosevelt, maybe you don't recollect me. I worked on the roundup with you twenty years ago next spring. My outfit joined yours at the mouth of the Box Alder." I gazed at him, and at once said, "Why it is big Jim." He was a great cow-puncher and is still riding the range in northwest-

ern Nebraska. When I knew him he was a tremendous fighting man, but always liked me. Twice I had to interfere to prevent him from half murdering cowboys from my own ranch. I had him at lunch, with a mixed company of home and foreign notabilities.

Don't worry about the lessons, old boy. I know you are studying hard. Don't get cast down. Sometimes in life, both at school and afterwards, fortune will go against any one, but if he just keeps pegging away and doesn't lose his courage things always take a turn for the better in the end.

WINTER LIFE IN THE WHITE HOUSE

White House, Dec. 17, 1904.

BLESSED KERMIT:

For a week the weather has been cold—down to zero at night and rarely above freezing in the shade at noon. In consequence the snow has lain well, and as there has been a waxing moon I have had the most delightful evening and night rides imaginable. I have been so busy that I have been unable to get away until after dark, but I went in the fur jacket Uncle Will presented to me as the fruit of his prize money in the Spanish War; and the moonlight on the glittering snow made the rides lovelier than they would have been in the daytime. Sometimes Mother and Ted went with me, and the gallops were delightful. To-day it has snowed heavily again, but the snow has been so soft that I did not like to go out, and besides I have been worked up to the limit. There has been skating and sleigh-riding all the week.

The new black "Jack" dog is becoming very much at home and very fond of the family.

With Archie and Quentin I have finished "The Last of the Mohicans," and have now begun "The Deerslayer." They are as cunning as ever, and this reading to them in the evening gives me a chance to see them that I would not otherwise have, although sometimes it is rather hard to get time.

Mother looks very young and pretty. This afternoon she was most busy, taking the little boys to the theatre and then going to hear Ethel sing. Ted, very swell in his first tail coat, is going out to take supper at Secretary Morton's, whose pretty daughter is coming out to-night.

In a very few days now we shall see you again.

PLAYMATE OF THE CHILDREN

(To Mr. and Mrs. Emlen Roosevelt)

White House, Jan. 4, 1905.

I am really touched at the way in which your children as well as my own treat me as a friend and playmate. It has its comic side. Thus, the last day the boys were here they were all bent upon having me take them for a scramble down Rock Creek. Of course, there was absolutely no reason why they could not go alone, but they obviously felt that my presence was needed to give zest to the entertainment. Accordingly, off I went, with the two Russell boys, George, Jack, and Philip, and Ted, Kermit, and Archie, with one of Archie's friends—a sturdy little boy who, as Archie informed me, had played opposite to him in the position of centre rush last fall. I do not think that one of them saw anything incongruous in the President's getting as bedaubed with mud as they got, or in my wiggling and clambering around jutting rocks, through cracks, and up what were really small cliff faces, just like the rest of them; and whenever any one of them beat me at any point, he felt and expressed simple and whole-hearted delight, exactly as if it had been a triumph over a rival of his own age.

A JAPANESE BOY'S LETTER

(To Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow)

White House, Jan. 14, 1905.

DEAR STURGIS:

Last year, when I had Professor Yamashita teach me the "Jiudo"—as they seem now to call Jiu Jitsu—the naval attaché here, Commander Takashita, used to come around here and bring a young lad, Kitgaki, who is now entering Annapolis. I used to wrestle with them both. They were very fond of Archie and were very good to him. This Christmas Kitgaki sent from Annapolis a little present to Archie, who wrote to thank him, and Kitgaki sent him a letter back that we like so much that I thought you might enjoy it, as it shows so nice a trait in the Japanese character. It runs as follows:

"My dearest boy:

"I received your nice letter. I thank you ever so much. I am very very glad that you have receive my small present.

"I like you very very much. When I have been in Jiudo room with your father and you, your father was talking to us about the picture of the caverly officer. In that time, I saw some expression on your face. Another remembering of you is your bravery when you sleped down from a tall chair. The two remembering's can't leave from my head.

"I returned here last Thursday and have plenty lesson, so my work is hard, hard, hard, more than Jiudo.

"I hope your good health.

"I am,

"Sincerely yours,

"A. KITGAKI."

Isn't it a nice letter?

ON COUNTING DAYS AND WRESTLING

White House, Feb. 24, 1905.

DARLING KERMIT:

I puzzled a good deal over your marks. I am inclined to think that one explanation is that you have thought so much of home as to prevent your really putting your whole strength into your studies. It is most natural that you should count the days before coming home, and write as you do that it will only be 33 days, only 26 days, only 19 days, etc., but at the same time it seems to me that perhaps this means that you do not really put all your heart and all your head effort into your work; and that if you are able to, it would be far better to think just as little as possible about coming home and resolutely set yourself to putting your best thought into your work. It is an illustration of the old adage about putting your hand to the plow and then looking back. In after life, of course, it is always possible that at some time you may have to go away for a year or two from home to do some piece of work. If during that whole time you only thought day after day of how soon you would get home I think you would find it difficult to do your best work; and maybe this feeling may be partly responsible for the trouble with the lessons at school.

Wednesday, Washington's Birthday, I went to Philadelphia and made a speech at the University of Pennsylvania, took lunch with the Philadelphia City Troop and came home the same afternoon with less fatigue than most of my trips cost me; for I was able to dodge the awful evening banquet and the night on the train which taken together drive me nearly melancholy mad. Since Sunday we have not been able to ride. I still box with Grant, who has now become the champion middleweight wrestler of the United States. Yesterday afternoon we had Professor Yamashita up here to wrestle with Grant. It was very interesting, but of course jiu jitsu and our wrestling are so far apart that it is difficult to make

any comparison between them. Wrestling is simply a sport with rules almost as conventional as those of tennis, while jiu jitsu is really meant for practice in killing or disabling our adversary. In consequence, Grant did not know what to do except to put Yamashita on his back, and Yamashita was perfectly content to be on his back. Inside of a minute Yamashita had choked Grant, and inside of two minutes more he got an elbow hold on him that would have enabled him to break his arm; so that there is no question but that he could have put Grant out. So far this made it evident that the jui jitsu man could handle the ordinary wrestler. But Grant, in the actual wrestling and throwing was about as good as the Japanese, and he was so much stronger that he evidently hurt and wore out the Japanese. With a little practice in the art I am sure that one of our big wrestlers or boxers, simply because of his greatly superior strength, would be able to kill any of those Japanese, who though very good men for their inches and pounds are altogether too small to hold their own against big, powerful, quick men who are as well trained.

SPRING IN WASHINGTON

White House, March 20, 1905.

DEAR KERMIT:

Poor John Hay has been pretty sick. He is going away to try to pick up his health by a sea voyage and rest. I earnestly hope he succeeds, not only because of my great personal fondness for him, but because from the standpoint of the nation it would be very difficult to replace him. Every Sunday on my way home from church I have been accustomed to stop in and see him. The conversation with him was always delightful, and during these Sunday morning talks we often decided important questions of public policy.

I paid a scuttling visit to New York on Friday to give away Eleanor at her marriage, and to make two speeches—one to

the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and one to the Sons of the American Revolution.

Mother and I have been riding a good deal, and the country is now lovely. Moreover, Ted and Matt and I have begun playing tennis.

The birds have come back. Not only song-sparrows and robins, but a winter wren, purple finches, and tufted titmice are singing in the garden; and the other morning early Mother and I were waked up by the loud singing of a cardinal bird in the magnolia tree just outside our windows.

Yesterday afternoon Archie and Quentin each had a little boy to see him. They climbed trees, sailed boats in the fountain, and dug in the sand-box like woodcocks.

Poor Mr. Frank Travers died last night. I was very sorry. He has been a good friend to me.

A HUNTING TRIP

Colorado Springs, Colorado,
April 14, 1905.

BLESSED KERMIT:

I hope you had as successful a trip in Florida as I have had in Texas and Oklahoma. The first six days were of the usual Presidential tour type, but much more pleasant than ordinarily, because I did not have to do quite as much speaking, and there was a certain irresponsibility about it all, due I suppose in part to the fact that I am no longer a candidate and am free from the everlasting suspicion and ill-natured judgment which being a candidate entails. However, both in Kentucky, and especially in Texas, I was received with a warmth and heartiness that surprised me, while the Rough Riders' reunion at San Antonio was delightful in every way.

Then came the five days wolf hunting in Oklahoma, and this was unalloyed pleasure, except for my uneasiness about Auntie Bye and poor little Sheffield. General Young, Dr. Lambert, and Roly Fortescue were each in his own way just

the nicest companions imaginable, my Texas hosts were too kind and friendly and open-hearted for anything. I want to have the whole party up at Washington next winter. The party got seventeen wolves, three coons, and any number of rattlesnakes. I was in at the death of eleven wolves. The other six wolves were killed by members of the party who were off with bunches of dogs in some place where I was not. I never took part in a run which ended in the death of a wolf without getting through the run in time to see the death. It was tremendous galloping over cut banks, prairie dog towns, flats, creek bottoms, everything. One run was nine miles long and I was the only man in at the finish except the professional wolf hunter Abernethy, who is a really wonderful fellow, catching the wolves alive by thrusting his gloved hands down between their jaws so that they cannot bite. He caught one wolf alive, tied up this wolf, and then held it on the saddle, followed his dogs in a seven-mile run and helped kill another wolf. He has a pretty wife and five cunning children of whom he is very proud, and introduced them to me, and I liked him much. We were in the saddle eight or nine hours every day, and I am rather glad to have thirty-six hours' rest on the cars before starting on my Colorado bear hunt.

ABERNETHY THE WOLF HUNTER

Glenwood Springs, Colorado,
April 20, 1905.

DEAR TED:

I do wish you could have been along on this trip. It has been great fun. In Oklahoma our party got all told seventeen coyotes with the greyhounds. I was in at the death of eleven, the only ones started by the dogs with which I happened to be. In one run the three Easterners covered themselves with glory, as Dr. Lambert, Roly Fortescue, and I were the only ones who got through excepting Abernethy, the wolf hunter. It happened because it was a nine-mile run and all

the cowboys rode their horses to a standstill in the first three or four miles, after which I came bounding along, like Kermit in the paper chase, and got to the end in time to see the really remarkable feat of Abernethy jumping on to the wolf, thrusting his gloved hand into its mouth, and mastering it then and there. He never used a knife or a rope in taking these wolves, seizing them by sheer quickness and address and thrusting his hand into the wolf's mouth in such a way that it lost all power to bite. You would have loved Tom Burnett, the son of the big cattle man. He is a splendid fellow, about thirty years old, and just the ideal of what a young cattle man should be.

Up here we have opened well. We have two cracker jacks as guides—John Goff, my old guide on the mountain lion hunt, and Jake Borah, who has somewhat the Seth Bullock type of face. We have about thirty dogs, including one absurd little terrier about half Jack's size, named Skip. Skip trots all day long with the hounds, excepting when he can persuade Mr. Stewart, or Dr. Lambert, or me to take him up for a ride, for which he is always begging. He is most affectionate and intelligent, but when there is a bear or lynx at bay he joins in the fight with all the fury of a bull dog, though I do not think he is much more effective than one of your Japanese mice would be. I should like to bring him home for Archie or Quentin. He would go everywhere with them and would ride Betsy or Algonquin.

On the third day out I got a fine big black bear, an old male who would not tree, but made what they call in Mississippi a walking bay with the dogs, fighting them off all the time. The chase lasted nearly two hours and was ended by a hard scramble up a canyon side; and I made a pretty good shot at him as he was walking off with the pack around him. He killed one dog and crippled three that I think will recover, besides scratching others. My 30-40 Springfield worked to perfection on the bear.

I suppose you are now in the thick of your studies and will have but little time to rest after the examinations. I shall

be back about the 18th, and then we can take up our tennis again. Give my regards to Matt.

I am particularly pleased that Maurice turned out so well. He has always been so pleasant to me that I had hoped he would turn out all right in the end.

PRAIRIE GIRLS

Divide Creek, Colo., April 26, 1905.

DARLING ETHEL:

Of course you remember the story of the little prairie girl. I always associate it with you. Well, again and again on this trip we would pass through prairie villages—bleak and lonely—with all the people in from miles about to see me. Among them were often dozens of young girls, often pretty, and as far as I could see much more happy than the heroine of the story. One of them shook hands with me, and then, after much whispering, said: "We want to shake hands with the guard!" The "guard" proved to be Roly, who was very swell in his uniform, and whom they evidently thought much more attractive than the President, both in age and looks.

There are plenty of ranchmen round here; they drive over to camp to see me, usually bringing a cake, or some milk and eggs, and are very nice and friendly. About twenty of the men came out with me, "to see the President shoot a bear"; and fortunately I did so in the course of an exhausting twelve hours' ride. I am very homesick for you all.

BEARS, BOBCATS, AND SKIP

Glenwood Springs, Colorado,
May 2, 1905.

BLESSED KERMIT:

I was delighted to get your letter. I am sorry you are having such a hard time in mathematics, but hope a couple

of weeks will set you all right. We have had a very successful hunt. All told we have obtained ten bear and three bobcats. Dr. Lambert has been a perfect trump. He is in the pink of condition, while for the last week I have been a little knocked out by the Cuban fever. Up to that time I was simply in splendid shape. There is a very cunning little dog named Skip, belonging to John Goff's pack, who has completely adopted me. I think I shall take him home to Archie. He likes to ride on Dr. Lambert's horse, or mine, and though he is not as big as Jack, takes eager part in the fight with every bear and bobcat.

I am sure you will enjoy your trip to Deadwood with Seth Bullock, and as soon as you return from Groton I shall write to him about it. I have now become very homesick for Mother, and shall be glad when the 12th of May comes and I am back in the White House.

HOME AGAIN WITH SKIP

White House, May 14, 1905.

DEAR KERMIT:

Here I am back again, and mighty glad to be back. It was perfectly delightful to see Mother and the children, but it made me very homesick for you. Of course I was up to my ears in work as soon as I reached the White House, but in two or three days we shall be through it and can settle down into our old routine.

Yesterday afternoon we played tennis, Herbert Knox Smith and I beating Matt and Murray. To-day I shall take cunning mother out for a ride.

Skip accompanied me to Washington. He is not as yet entirely at home in the White House and rather clings to my companionship. I think he will soon be fond of Archie, who loves him dearly. Mother is kind to Skip, but she does not

think he is an aristocrat as Jack is. He is a very cunning little dog all the same.

Mother walked with me to church this morning and both the past evenings we have been able to go out into the garden and sit on the stone benches near the fountain. The country is too lovely for anything, everything being a deep, rich, fresh green.

I had a great time in Chicago with the labor union men. They made what I regarded as a rather insolent demand upon me, and I gave them some perfectly straight talk about their duty and about the preservation of law and order. The trouble seems to be increasing there, and I may have to send Federal troops into the city—though I shall not do so unless it is necessary.

SKIP IN THE WHITE HOUSE

White House, May 14, 1905.

DEAR KERMIT:

That was a good mark in Latin, and I am pleased with your steady improvement in it.

Skip is housebroken, but he is like a real little Indian. He can stand any amount of hard work if there is a bear or bob-cat ahead, but now that he is in the White House he thinks he would much rather do nothing but sit about all day with his friends, and threatens to turn into a lap-dog. But when we get him to Oyster Bay I think we can make him go out riding with us, and then I think he will be with Archie a great deal. He and Jack are rather jealous of one another. He is very cunning and friendly. I am immensely pleased with Mother's Virginia cottage and its name. I am going down there for Sunday with her some time soon.

P. S.—Your marks have just come! By George, you have worked hard and I am delighted. Three cheers!

OFFICER'S OF TOGO'S FLEET

White House, June 6, 1905.

DEAR KERMIT:

Next Friday I am going down with Mother to spend a couple of days at Pine Knot, which Mother loves just as Ethel loves Fidelity. She and I have had some lovely rides together, and if I do not go riding with her I play tennis with Ted and some of his and my friends. Yesterday Ted and one of his friends played seven sets of tennis against Mr. Cooley and me and beat us four to three. In the evening Commander Takashita brought in half a dozen Japanese naval officers who had been with Togo's fleet off Port Arthur and had taken part in the fleet actions, the attacks with the torpedo-boat flotilla, and so forth. I tell you they were a formidable-looking set and evidently dead game fighters!

A PRESIDENT AS COOK

White House, June 11, 1905.

DEAR KERMIT:

Mother and I have just come home from a lovely trip to "Pine Knot." It is really a perfectly delightful little place; the nicest little place of the kind you can imagine. Mother is a great deal more pleased with it than any child with any toy I ever saw. She went down the day before, Thursday, and I followed on Friday morning. Good Mr. Joe Wilmer met me at the station and we rode on horseback to "Round Top," where we met Mother and Mr. Willie Wilmer. We all had tea there and then drove to "Plain Dealing," where we had dinner. Of course I loved both "Round Top" and "Plain Dealing," and as for the two Mr. Wilmers, they are the most generous, thoughtful, self-effacing friends that any one could wish to see. After dinner we went over to "Pine Knot," put everything to order and went to bed. Next day we spent all

by ourselves at "Pine Knot." In the morning I fried bacon and eggs, while Mother boiled the kettle for tea and laid the table. Breakfast was most successful, and then Mother washed the dishes and did most of the work, while I did odd jobs. Then we walked about the place, which is fifteen acres in all, saw the lovely spring, admired the pine trees and the oak trees, and then Mother lay in the hammock while I cut away some trees to give us a better view from the piazza. The piazza is the real feature of the house. It is broad and runs along the whole length and the roof is high near the wall, for it is a continuation of the roof of the house. It was lovely to sit there in the rocking-chairs and hear all the birds by day-time and at night the whippoorwills and owls and little forest folk.

Inside the house is just a bare wall with one big room below, which is nice now, and will be still nicer when the chimneys are up and there is a fireplace in each end. A rough flight of stairs leads above, where there are two rooms, separated by a passageway. We did everything for ourselves, but all the food we had was sent over to us by the dear Wilmers, together with milk. We cooked it ourselves, so there was no one around the house to bother us at all. As we found that cleaning dishes took up an awful time we only took two meals a day, which was all we wanted. On Saturday evening I fried two chickens for dinner, while Mother boiled the tea, and we had cherries and wild strawberries, as well as biscuits and cornbread. To my pleasure Mother greatly enjoyed the fried chicken and admitted that what you children had said of the way I fried chicken was all true. In the evening we sat out a long time on the piazza, and then read indoors and then went to bed. Sunday morning we did not get up until nine. Then I fried Mother some beefsteak and some eggs in two frying-pans, and she liked them both very much. We went to church at the dear little church where the Wilmers' father and mother had been married, dined soon after two at "Plain Dealing," and then were driven over to the station to go back to Washington. I

rode the big black stallion—Chief—and enjoyed it thoroughly. Altogether we had a very nice holiday.

I was lucky to be able to get it, for during the past fortnight, and indeed for a considerable time before, I have been carrying on negotiations with both Russia and Japan, together with side negotiations with Germany, France and England, to try to get the present war stopped. With infinite labor and by the exercise of a good deal of tact and judgment—if I do say it myself—I have finally gotten the Japanese and Russians to agree to meet to discuss the terms of peace. Whether they will be able to come to an agreement or not I can't say. But it is worth while to have obtained the chance of peace, and the only possible way to get this chance was to secure such an agreement of the two powers that they would meet and discuss the terms direct. Of course, Japan will want to ask more than she ought to ask, and Russia to give less than she ought to give. Perhaps both sides will prove impracticable. Perhaps one will. But there is the chance that they will prove sensible, and make a peace, which will really be for the interest of each as things are now. At any rate the experiment was worth trying. I have kept the secret very successfully, and my dealings with the Japanese in particular have been known to no one, so that the result is in the nature of a surprise.

QUENTIN'S QUAIN'T SAYINGS

DEAR KERMIT:

Oyster Bay, N. Y., Aug. 26, 1905.

Mr. Phil Stewart and Dr. Lambert spent a night here, Quentin greeting the former with most cordial friendship, and in explanation stating that he always liked to get acquainted with everybody. I take Hall to chop, and he plays tennis with Phil and Oliver, and rides with Phil and Quentin. The Plunger (a submarine) has come to the Bay and I am going out in it this afternoon—or rather down on it. N. B.—I have just been down, for 5 minutes; it was very interesting.

Last night I listened to Mother reading "The Lances of Linwood" to the two little boys and then hearing them their prayers. Then I went into Archie's room, where they both showed all their china animals; I read them Laura E. Richards' poems, including "How does the President take his tea?" They christened themselves Punkey Doodle and Jollapin, from the chorus of this, and immediately afterwards I played with them, on Archie's bed. First I would toss Punkey Doodle (Quentin) on Jollapin (Archie) and tickle Jollapin while Punkey Doodle squalled and wiggled on top of him, and then reverse them and keep Punkey Doodle down by heaving Jollapin on him, while they both kicked and struggled until my shirt front looked very much the worse for wear. You doubtless remember yourself how bad it was for me, when I was dressed for dinner, to play with all you scamps when you were little.

The other day a reporter asked Quentin something about me; to which that affable and canny young gentleman responded, "Yes, I see him sometimes; but I know nothing of his family life."

ADVICE REGARDING NEWSPAPER ANNOYANCES

When Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., entered Harvard as a freshman he had to pay the penalty of being a President's son. Newspaper reporters followed all his movements, specially in athletics, and he was the victim of many exaggerated and often purely fictitious accounts of his doings. His father wrote him indignant and sympathetic letters, two of which are reproduced here.

White House, October 2, 1905.

BLESSED OLD TED:

The thing to do is to go on just as you have evidently been doing, attract as little attention as possible, do not make a fuss about the newspaper men, camera creatures, and idiots

generally, letting it be seen that you do not like them and avoid them, but not letting them betray you into any excessive irritation. I believe they will soon drop you, and it is just an unpleasant thing that you will have to live down. Ted, I have had an enormous number of unpleasant things that I have had to live down in my life at different times and you have begun to have them now. I saw that you were not out on the football field on Saturday and was rather glad of it, as evidently those infernal idiots were eagerly waiting for you, but whenever you do go you will have to make up your mind that they will make it exceedingly unpleasant for you for once or twice, and you will just have to bear it; for you can never in the world afford to let them drive you away from anything you intend to do, whether it is football or anything else, and by going about your own business quietly and pleasantly, doing just what you would do if they were not there, generally they will get tired of it, and the boys themselves will see that it is not your fault, and will feel, if anything, rather a sympathy for you. Meanwhile I want you to know that we are all thinking of you and sympathizing with you the whole time; and it is a great comfort to me to have such confidence in you and to know that though these creatures can cause you a little trouble and make you feel a little downcast, they can not drive you one way or the other, or make you alter the course you have set out for yourself.

We were all of us, I am almost ashamed to say, rather blue at getting back in the White House, simply because we missed Sagamore Hill so much. But it is very beautiful and we feel very ungrateful at having even a passing fit of blueness, and we are enjoying it to the full now. I have just seen Archie dragging some fifty foot of hose pipe across the tennis court to play in the sand-box. I have been playing tennis with Mr. Pinchot, who beat me three sets to one, the only deuce-set being the one I won.

This is just an occasion to show the stuff there is in you. Do not let these newspaper creatures and kindred idiots drive

you one hair's breadth from the line you had marked out in football or anything else. Avoid any fuss, if possible.

White House, October 11, 1905.

DEAR TED:

I was delighted to find from your last letters that you are evidently having a pretty good time in spite of the newspaper and kodak creatures. I guess that nuisance is now pretty well abated. Every now and then they will do something horrid; but I think you can safely, from now on, ignore them entirely.

I shall be interested to hear how you get on, first of all with your studies, in which you seem to have started well, and next with football. I expected that you would find it hard to compete with the other candidates for the position of end, as they are mostly heavier than you; especially since you went off in weight owing to the excitement of your last weeks of holiday in the summer. Of course the fact that you are comparatively light tells against you and gives you a good deal to overcome; and undoubtedly it was from this standpoint not a good thing that you were unable to lead a quieter life toward the end of your stay at Oyster Bay.

So it is about the polo club. In my day we looked with suspicion upon all freshman societies, and the men who tried to get them up or were prominent in them rarely amounted to much in the class afterwards; and it has happened that I have heard rather unfavorably of the polo club. But it may be mere accident that I have thus heard unfavorably about it, and in thirty years the attitude of the best fellows in college to such a thing as a freshman club may have changed so absolutely that my experience can be of no value. Exercise your own best judgment and form some idea of what the really best fellows in the class think on the subject. Do not make the mistake of thinking that the men who are merely undeveloped are really the best fellows, no matter how pleasant and agreeable they are or how popular. Popularity is a good thing, but it is not something for which to sacrifice studies or athletics

or good standing in any way; and sometimes to seek it overmuch is to lose it. I do not mean this as applying to you, but as applying to certain men who will have a great vogue at first in the class, and of whom you will naturally tend to think pretty well.

In all these things I can only advise you in a very general way. You are on the ground. You know the men and the general college sentiment. You have gone in with the serious purpose of doing decently and honorably; of standing well in your studies; of showing that in athletics you mean business up to the extent of your capacity, and of getting the respect and liking of your classmates so far as they can be legitimately obtained. As to the exact methods of carrying out these objects, I must trust to you.

INCIDENTS OF A SOUTHERN TRIP

DEAR KERMIT:

White House, Nov. 1, 1905.

I had a great time in the South, and it was very nice indeed having Mr. John McIlhenny and Mr. John Greenway with me. Of course I enjoyed most the three days when Mother was there. But I was so well received and had so many things to say which I was really glad to say, that the whole trip was a success. When I left New Orleans on the little lighthouse tender to go down to the gulf where the big war ship was awaiting me, we had a collision. I was standing up at the time and the shock pitched me forward so that I dove right through the window, taking the glass all out except a jagged rim round the very edge. But I went through so quickly that I received only some minute scratches on my face and hands which, however, bled pretty freely. I was very glad to come up the coast on the squadron of great armored cruisers.

In the gulf the weather was hot and calm, but soon after rounding Florida and heading northward we ran into a gale. Admiral Brownson is a regular little game-cock and he drove

the vessels to their limit. It was great fun to see the huge warcraft pounding steadily into the gale and forging onward through the billows. Some of the waves were so high that the water came green over the flying bridge forward, and some of the officers were thrown down and badly bruised. One of the other ships lost a man overboard, and although we hunted for him an hour and a half we could not get him, and had a boat smashed in the endeavor.

When I got back here I found sister, very interesting about her Eastern trip. She has had a great time, and what is more, she has behaved mighty well under rather trying circumstances. Ethel was a dear, as always, and the two little boys were as cunning as possible. Sister had brought them some very small Japanese fencing armor, which they had of course put on with glee, and were clumsily fencing with wooden two-handed swords. And they had also rigged up in the dark nursery a grewsome man with a pumpkin head, which I was ushered in to see, and in addition to the regulars eyes, nose, and saw-tooth mouth, Archie had carved in the back of the pumpkin the words "Pumpkin Giant," the candle inside illuminating it beautifully. Mother was waiting for me at the Navy Yard, looking too pretty for anything, when I arrived. She and I had a ride this afternoon. Of course I am up to my ears in work.

The mornings are lovely now, crisp and fresh; after breakfast Mother and I walk around the grounds accompanied by Skip, and also by Slipper, her bell tinkling loudly. The gardens are pretty dishevelled now, but the flowers that are left are still lovely; even yet some honeysuckle is blooming on the porch.

POETS AND PRINCES

White House, November 6, 1905.

DEAR KERMIT:

Just a line, for I really have nothing to say this week. I have caught up with my work. One day we had a rather for-

lorn little poet and his nice wife in at lunch. They made me feel quite badly by being so grateful at my having mentioned him in what I fear was a very patronizing and, indeed, almost supercilious way, as having written an occasional good poem. I am much struck by Robinson's two poems which you sent Mother. What a queer, mystical creature he is! I did not understand one of them—that about the gardens—and I do not know that I like either of them quite as much as some of those in "The Children of the Night." But he certainly has got the real spirit of poetry in him. Whether he can make it come out I am not quite sure.

Prince Louis of Battenberg has been here and I have been very much pleased with him. He is a really good admiral, and in addition he is a well-read and cultivated man and it was charming to talk with him. We had him and his nephew, Prince Alexander, a midshipman, to lunch alone with us, and we really enjoyed having them. At the State dinner he sat between me and Bonaparte, and I could not help smiling to myself in thinking that here was this British Admiral seated beside the American Secretary of the Navy—the American Secretary of the Navy being the grandnephew of Napoleon and the grandson of Jerome, King of Westphalia; while the British Admiral was the grandson of a Hessian general who was the subject of King Jerome and served under Napoleon, and then, by no means creditably, deserted him in the middle of the Battle of Leipsic.

I am off to vote to-night.

NOVELS AND GAMES

White House, November 19, 1905.

DEAR KERMIT:

I sympathize with every word you say in your letter, about Nicholas Nickleby, and about novels generally. Normally I only care for a novel if the ending is good, and I quite agree with you that if the hero has to die he ought to die worthily

and nobly, so that our sorrow at the tragedy shall be tempered with the joy and pride one always feels when a man does his duty well and bravely. There is quite enough sorrow and shame and suffering and baseness in real life, and there is no need for meeting it unnecessarily in fiction. As Police Commissioner it was my duty to deal with all kinds of squalid misery and hideous and unspeakable infamy, and I should have been worse than a coward if I had shrunk from doing what was necessary; but there would have been no use whatever in my reading novels detailing all this misery and squalor and crime, or at least in reading them as a steady thing. Now and then there is a powerful but sad story which really is interesting and which really does good; but normally the books which do good and the books which healthy people find interesting are those which are not in the least of the sugar-candy variety, but which, while portraying foulness and suffering when they must be portrayed, yet have a joyous as well as a noble side.

We have had a very mild and open fall. I have played tennis a good deal, the French Ambassador being now quite a steady playmate, as he and I play about alike; and I have ridden with Mother a great deal. Last Monday when Mother had gone to New York I had Selous, the great African hunter, to spend the day and night. He is a perfect old dear; just as simple and natural as can be and very interesting. I took him, with Bob Bacon, Gifford Pinchot, Ambassador Meyer, and Jim Garfield, for a good scramble and climb in the afternoon, and they all came to dinner afterwards. Before we came down to dinner I got him to spend three-quarters of an hour in telling delightfully exciting lion and hyena stories to Ethel, Archie and Quentin. He told them most vividly and so enthralled the little boys that the next evening I had to tell them a large number myself.

To-day is Quentin's birthday and he loved his gifts, perhaps most of all the weest, cunningest live pig you ever saw, presented him by Straus. Phil Stewart and his wife and boy,

Wolcott (who is Archie's age), spent a couple of nights here. One afternoon we had hide-and-go-seek, bringing down Mr. Garfield and the Garfield boys, and Archie turning up with the entire football team, who took a day off for the special purpose. We had obstacle races, hide-and-go-seek, blind-man's buff, and everything else; and there were times when I felt that there was a perfect shoal of small boys bursting in every direction up and down stairs, and through and over every conceivable object.

Mother and I still walk around the grounds every day after breakfast. The gardens, of course, are very, very dishevelled now, the snap-dragons holding out better than any other flowers.

CHRISTMAS PRESENT TO HIS OLD NURSE

(To Mrs. Dora Watkins)

White House, December 19, 1905.

DEAR DOLLY:

I wish you a merry Christmas, and want you to buy whatever you think you would like with the enclosed check for twenty dollars. It is now just forty years since you stopped being my nurse, when I was a little boy of seven, just one year, younger than Quentin now is.

I wish you could see the children play here in the White House grounds. For the last three days there has been snow, and Archie and Quentin and their cousin, cunning little Sheffield Cowles, and their other cousin, Mr. John Elliott's little girl, Helena, who is a perfect little dear, have been having all kinds of romps in the snow—coasting, having snowball fights, and doing everything—in the grounds back of the White House. This coming Saturday afternoon I have agreed to have a great play of hide-and-go-seek in the White House itself, not only with these children but with their various small friends.

DICKENS AND THACKERAY

White House, February 3, 1906.

DEAR KERMIT:

I agree pretty well with your views of David Copperfield. Dora was very cunning and attractive, but I am not sure that the husband would retain enough respect for her to make life quite what it ought to be with her. This is a harsh criticism and I have known plenty of women of the Dora type whom I have felt were a good deal better than the men they married, and I have seen them sometimes make very happy homes. I also feel as you do that if a man had to struggle on and make his way it would be a great deal better to have some one like Sophie. Do you recollect that dinner at which David Copperfield and Traddles were, where they are described as seated at the dinner, one "in the glare of the red velvet lady" and the other "in the gloom of Hamlet's aunt"? I am so glad you like Thackeray. "Pendennis" and "The Newcomes" and "Vanity Fair" I can read over and over again.

Ted blew in to-day. I think he has been studying pretty well this term and now he is through all his examinations but one. He hopes, and I do, that you will pay what attention you can to athletics. Play hockey, for instance, and try to get into shape for the mile run. I know it is too short a distance for you, but if you will try for the hare and hounds running and the mile, too, you may be able to try for the two miles when you go to Harvard.

The weather was very mild early in the week. It has turned cold now; but Mother and I had a good ride yesterday, and Ted and I a good ride this afternoon, Ted on Grey Dawn. We have been having a perfect whirl of dinner engagements; but thank heavens they will stop shortly after Sister's wedding.

A TRIBUTE TO ARCHIE

White House, March 11, 1906.

DEAR KERMIT:

I agree pretty much to all your views both about Thackeray and Dickens, although you care for some of Thackeray of which I am not personally fond. Mother loves it all. Mother, by the way, has been reading "The Legend of Montrose" to the little boys and they are absorbed in it. She finds it hard to get anything that will appeal to both Archie and Quentin, as they possess such different natures.

I am quite proud of what Archie did the day before yesterday. Some of the bigger boys were throwing a baseball around outside of Mr. Sidwell's school and it hit one of them square in the eye, breaking all the bloodvessels and making an extremely dangerous hurt. The other boys were all rattled and could do nothing, finally sneaking off when Mr. Sidwell appeared. Archie stood by and himself promptly suggested that the boy should go to Dr. Wilmer. Accordingly he scorched down to Dr. Wilmer's and said there was an emergency case for one of Mr. Sidwell's boys, who was hurt in the eye, and could he bring him. Dr. Wilmer, who did not know Archie was there, sent out word to of course do so. So Archie scorched back on his wheel, got the boy (I do not know why Mr. Sidwell did not take him himself) and led him down to Dr. Wilmer's, who attended to his eye and had to send him at once to a hospital, Archie waiting until he heard the result and then coming home. Dr. Wilmer told me about it and said if Archie had not acted with such promptness the boy (who was four or five years older than Archie, by the way) would have lost his sight.

What a heavenly place a sandbox is for two little boys! Archie and Quentin play industriously in it during most of their spare moments when out in the grounds. I often look out of the office windows when I have a score of Senators

and Congressmen with me and see them both hard at work arranging caverns or mountains, with runways for their marbles.

Good-bye, blessed fellow. I shall think of you very often during the coming week, and I am so very glad that Mother is to be with you at your confirmation.

PILLOW FIGHTS WITH THE BOYS

White House, March 19, 1906.

DARLING KERMIT:

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During the four days Mother was away I made a point of seeing the children each evening for three-quarters of an hour or so. Archie and Quentin are really great playmates. One night I came up-stairs and found Quentin playing the pianola as hard as he could, while Archie would suddenly start from the end of the hall where the pianola was, and, accompanied by both the dogs, race as hard as he could the whole length of the White House clean to the other end of the hall and then tear back again. Another evening as I came up-stairs I found Archie and Quentin having a great play, chuckling with laughter, Archie driving Quentin by his suspenders, which were fixed to the end of a pair of woollen reins. Then they would ambush me and we would have a vigorous pillow-fight, and after five or ten minutes of this we would go into Mother's room, and I would read them the book Mother had been reading them, "The Legend of Montrose." We just got through it the very last evening. Both Skip and Jack have welcomed Mother back with frantic joy, and this morning came in and lay on her bed as soon as she had finished breakfast—for she did not come down to either breakfast or lunch, as she is going to spend the night at Baltimore with the Bonapartes.

I was so interested in your reading "Phineas Finn" that I

ordered a copy myself. I have also ordered De Quincey's works, as I find we have not got them at the White House.

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SORROWS OF SKIP

White House, April 1, 1906.

DARLING ARCHIE:

Poor Skip is a very, very lonely little dog without his family. Each morning he comes up to see me at breakfast time and during most of breakfast (which I take in the hall just outside my room) Skip stands with his little paws on my lap. Then when I get through and sit down in the rocking-chair to read for fifteen or twenty minutes, Skip hops into my lap and stays there, just bathing himself in the companionship of the only one of his family he has left. The rest of the day he spends with the ushers, as I am so frightfully busy that I am nowhere long enough for Skip to have any real satisfaction in my companionship. Poor Jack has never come home. We may never know what became of him.

"AN INTERESTING CIRCUS EXPERIENCE"

White House, April 1, 1906.

DARLING ETHEL:

I haven't heard a word from the two new horses, and I rather believe that if there had been any marked improvement in either of them I should have heard. I gather that one at least and probably both would be all right for me if I were twenty years younger, and would probably be all right for Ted now; but of course as things are at present I do not want a horse with which I have an interesting circus experience whenever we meet an automobile, or one which I cannot get to go in any particular direction without devoting an hour or two to the job. So that it looks as if old Rusty would be good enough for me for some time to come. I am

going out on him with Senator Lodge this afternoon, and he will be all right and as fresh as paint, for he has been three days in the stable. But to-day is just a glorious spring day—March having ended as it began, with rain and snow—and I will have a good ride. I miss Mother and you children very much, of course, but I believe you are having a good time, and I am really glad you are to see Havana.

A BIG AND LONELY WHITE HOUSE

White House, April 1, 1906.

DARLING QUENTY-QUEE:

Slipper and the kittens are doing finely. I think the kittens will be big enough for you to pet and have some satisfaction out of when you get home, although they will be pretty young still. I miss you all dreadfully, and the house feels big and lonely and full of echoes with nobody but me in it; and I do not hear any small scamps running up and down the hall just as hard as they can; or hear their voices while I am dressing; or suddenly look out through the windows of the office at the tennis ground and see them racing over it or playing in the sand-box. I love you very much.

A NEW PUPPY AND A NEW HORSE

White House, April 12, 1906.

DEAR KERMIT:

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Last night I played "tickley" in their room with the two little boys. As we rolled and bounced over all three beds in the course of the play, not to mention frantic chases under them, I think poor Mademoiselle was rather appalled at the result when we had finished. Archie's seven-weeks-old St. Bernard puppy has come and it is the dearest puppy imaginable; a huge, soft thing, which Archie carries around in his arms and which the whole family love.

Yesterday I took a first ride on the new horse, Roswell, Captain Lee going along on Rusty as a kind of a nurse. Roswell is not yet four and he is really a green colt and not quite the horse I want at present, as I haven't time to fuss with him, and am afraid of letting the Sergeant ride him, as he does not get on well with him, and there is nobody else in our stable that can ride at all. He is a beautiful horse, a wonderful jumper, and does not pull at all. He shies pretty badly, especially when he meets an automobile; and when he leaves the stable or strikes a road that he thinks will take him home and is not allowed to go down it, he is apt to rear, which I do not like; but I am inclined to think that he will get over these traits, and if I can arrange to have Lee handle him a couple of months more, and if Ted and I can regularly ride him down at Oyster Bay, I think that he will turn out all right.

Mother and I walk every morning through the grounds, which, of course, are lovely. Not only are the song-sparrows and robins singing, but the white-throated sparrows, who will, I suppose, soon leave us for the North, are still in full song, and this morning they waked us up at daybreak singing just outside the window.

A QUENTIN ANECDOTE

DEAR KERMIT:

White House, April 22, 1906.

Ted has been as good and cunning as possible. He has completely recovered from the effects of having his eye operated upon, and though the eye itself is a somewhat gruesome object, Ted is in the highest spirits. He goes back to Harvard to-day.

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As I write, Archie and Quentin are busily engaged in the sand-box and I look out across the tennis-ground at them. If ever there was a heaven-sent treasure to small boys, that

sand-box is the treasure. It was very cunning to see the delight various little children took in it at the egg-rolling on Easter Monday. Thanks to our decision in keeping out grown people and stopping everything at one o'clock, the egg-rolling really was a children's festival, and was pretty and not objectionable this year.

The apple trees are now coming into bloom, including that big arched apple tree, under which Mother and I sit, by the fountain, on the stone bench. It is the apple tree that Mother particularly likes. . . .

Did Quentin write his poems after you had gone? I never can recollect whether you have seen them or not. He is a funny small person if ever there was one. The other day we were discussing a really dreadful accident which had happened; a Georgetown young man having taken out a young girl in a canoe on the river, the canoe upset and the girl was drowned; whereupon the young man, when he got home, took what seemed to us an exceedingly cold-blooded method of a special delivery letter to notify her parents. We were expressing our horror at his sending a special delivery letter, and Quentin solemnly chimed in with "Yes, he wasted ten cents." There was a moment's eloquent silence, and then we strove to explain to Quentin that what we were objecting to was not in the least the young man's spendthrift attitude!

As I walk to and from the office now the terrace is fairly fragrant with the scent of the many-colored hyacinths which Mother has put out in boxes on the low stone walls.

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A VISIT TO WASHINGTON'S BIRTHPLACE

White House, April 30, 1906.

DEAR KERMIT:

On Saturday afternoon Mother and I started off on the *Sylph*, Mother having made up her mind I needed thirty-six

hours' rest, and we had a delightful time together, and she was just as cunning as she could be. On Sunday Mother and I spent about four hours ashore, taking our lunch and walking up to the monument which marks where the house stood in which Washington was born. It was a simple shaft. Every vestige of the house is destroyed, but a curious and rather pathetic thing is that, although it must be a hundred years since the place was deserted, there are still multitudes of flowers which must have come from those in the old garden. There are iris and narcissus and a little blue flower, with a neat, prim, clean smell that makes one feel as if it ought to be put with lavender into chests of fresh old linen. The narcissus in particular was growing around everywhere, together with real wild flowers like the painted columbine and star of Bethlehem. It was a lovely spot on a headland overlooking a broad inlet from the Potomac. There was also the old graveyard or grave plot in which were the gravestones of Washington's father and mother and grandmother, all pretty nearly ruined. It was lovely warm weather and Mother and I enjoyed our walk through the funny lonely old country. Mocking-birds, meadow-larks, Carolina wrens, cardinals, and field sparrows were singing cheerfully. We came up the river in time to get home last evening. This morning Mother and I walked around the White House grounds as usual. I think I get more fond of flowers every year. The grounds are now at that high stage of beauty in which they will stay for the next two months. The buckeyes are in bloom, the pink dogwood, and the fragrant lilacs, which are almost the loveliest of the bushes; and then the flowers, including the lily-of-the-valley.

I am dictating in the office. Archie is out by the sand-box playing with the hose. The playing consists in brandishing it around his head and trying to escape the falling water. He escapes about twice out of three times and must now be a perfect drowned rat. (I have just had him in to look at him and he is even more of a drowned rat than I supposed. He

has gone out to complete his shower bath under strict promise that immediately afterwards he will go in and change his clothes.)

Quentin is the funniest mite you ever saw and certainly a very original little fellow. He left at Mademoiselle's plate yesterday a large bunch of flowers with the inscription that they were from the fairies to her to reward her for taking care of "two *good, good* boys." Ethel is a dear.

MORE ABOUT DICKENS

White House, May 20, 1906.

DEAR TED:

Mother read us your note and I was interested in the discussion between you and ——— over Dickens. Dickens' characters are really to a great extent personified attributes rather than individuals. In consequence, while there are not nearly as many who are actually like people one meets, as for instance in Thackeray, there are a great many more who possess *characteristics* which we encounter continually, though rarely as strongly developed as in the fictional originals. So Dickens' characters last almost as Bunyan's do. For instance, Jefferson Brick and Elijah Pogram and Hannibal Chollop are all real personifications of certain bad tendencies in American life, and I am continually thinking of or alluding to some newspaper editor or Senator or homicidal rowdy by one of these three names. I never met any one exactly like Uriah Heep, but now and then we see individuals show traits which make it easy to describe them, with reference to those traits, as Uriah Heep. It is just the same with Micawber. Mrs. Nickleby is not quite a real person, but she typifies, in accentuated form, traits which a great many real persons possess, and I am continually thinking of her when I meet them. There are half a dozen books of Dickens which have, I think, furnished more characters which are the constant companions

of the ordinary educated man around us, than is true of any other half-dozen volumes published within the same period.

NO PLACE LIKE SAGAMORE HILL

(To Ethel, at Sagamore Hill)

White House, June 11, 1906.

BLESSED ETHEL:

I am very glad that what changes have been made in the house are good, and I look forward so eagerly to seeing them. After all, fond as I am of the White House and much though I have appreciated these years in it, there isn't any place in the world like home—like Sagamore Hill, where things are our own, with our own associations, and where it is real country.

ATTIC DELIGHTS

White House, June 17, 1906.

BLESSED ETHEL:

Your letter delighted me. I read it over twice, and chuckled over it. By George, how entirely I sympathize with your feelings in the attic! I know just what it is to get up into such a place and find the delightful, winding passages where one lay hidden with thrills of criminal delight, when the grown-ups were vainly demanding one's appearance at some legitimate and abhorred function; and then the once-beloved and half-forgotten treasures, and the emotions of peace and war, with reference to former companions, which they recall.

I am not in the least surprised about the mental telepathy; there is much in it and in kindred things which are real and which at present we do not understand. The only trouble is that it usually gets mixed up with all kinds of fakes.

I am glad the band had a healthy effect in reviving old

Bleistein's youth. I shall never forget the intense interest in life he always used to gain when we encountered an Italian with a barrel organ and a bear—a combination that made Renown seek instant refuge in attempted suicide.

I am really pleased that you are going to teach Sunday school. I think I told you that I taught it for seven years, most of the time in a mission class, my pupils being of a kind which furnished me plenty of vigorous excitement.

PRESIDENTIAL RESCUE OF A KITTEN

White House, June 24, 1906.

DARLING ETHEL:

To-day as I was marching to church, with Sloane some 25 yards behind, I suddenly saw two terriers racing to attack a kitten which was walking down the sidewalk. I bounced forward with my umbrella, and after some active work put to flight the dogs while Sloane captured the kitten, which was a friendly, helpless little thing, evidently too well accustomed to being taken care of to know how to shift for itself. I inquired of all the bystanders and of people on the neighboring porches to know if they knew who owned it; but as they all disclaimed, with many grins, any knowledge of it, I marched ahead with it in my arms for about half a block. Then I saw a very nice colored woman and little colored girl looking out of the window of a small house with on the door a dress-maker's advertisement, and I turned and walked up the steps and asked if they did not want the kitten. They said they did, and the little girl welcomed it lovingly; so I felt I had gotten it a home and continued toward church.

Has the lordly Ted turned up yet? Is his loving sister able unassisted, to reduce the size of his head, or does she need any assistance from her male parent?

Your affectionate father,

The Tyrant.

chorus of Offspring (led by daughter)
"For he is a tyrant king!"

SPORTS OF QUENTIN AND ARCHIE

DEAR KERMIT:

Oyster Bay, Aug. 18, 1906.

Quentin is the same cheerful pagan philosopher as ever. He swims like a little duck; rides well; stands quite severe injuries without complaint, and is really becoming a manly little fellow. Archie is devoted to the *Why* (sailboat). The other day while Mother and I were coming in, rowing, we met him sailing out, and it was too cunning for anything. The *Why* looks exactly like a little black wooden shoe with a sail in it, and the crew consisted of Archie, of one of his beloved playmates, a seaman from the *Sylph*, and of Skip—very alert and knowing.

SKIP AND ARCHIE

DEAR KERMIT:

White House, October 23, 1906.

Archie is very cunning and has handicap races with Skip. He spreads his legs, bends over, and holds Skip between them. Then he says, "On your mark, Skip, ready; go!" and shoves Skip back while he runs as hard as he possibly can to the other

end of the hall, Skip scrambling wildly with his paws on the smooth floor until he can get started, when he races after Archie, the object being for Archie to reach the other end before Skip can overtake him.

A TURKEY HUNT AT PINE KNOT

DEAR KERMIT:

White House, November 4, 1906.

Just a line to tell you what a nice time we had at Pine Knot. Mother was as happy as she always is there, and as cunning and pretty as possible. As for me, I hunted faithfully through all three days, leaving the house at three o'clock one day, at four the next, and at five the next, so that I began my hunts in absolute night; but fortunately we had a brilliant moon on each occasion. The first two days were failures. I did not see a turkey, and on each occasion when everybody was perfectly certain that I was going to see a turkey, something went wrong and the turkey did not turn up. The last day I was out thirteen hours, and you may imagine how hungry I was when I got back, not to speak of being tired; though fortunately most of the time I was rambling around on horseback, so I was not done out. But in the afternoon at last luck changed, and then for once everything went right. The hunter who was with me marked a turkey in a point of pines stretching down from a forest into an open valley, with another forest on its farther side. I ran down to the end of the point and hid behind a bush. He walked down through the pines and the turkey came out and started to fly across the valley, offering me a beautiful side shot at about thirty-five yards—just the distance for my ten-bore. I killed it dead, and felt mighty happy as it came tumbling down through the air.

In November, 1906, the President, accompanied by Mrs. Roosevelt, went to the Isthmus of Panama, where he spent

three days in inspecting the work of building the Panama Canal, returning by way of Porto Rico. The journey was taken on the naval vessel *Louisiana*, and many of his letters to the children were written while on board that vessel and mailed after reaching Colon.

PETS ON SHIPBOARD

On Board U. S. S. *Louisiana*,
On the Way to Panama.
Sunday, November 11, 1906.

BLESSED QUENTIN:

You would be amused at the pets they have aboard this ship. They have two young bulldogs, a cat, three little raccoons, and a tiny Cuban goat. They seem to be very amicable with one another, although I think the cat has suspicions of all the rest. The coons clamber about everywhere, and the other afternoon while I was sitting reading, I suddenly felt my finger seized in a pair of soft black paws and found the coon sniffing at it, making me feel a little uncomfortable lest it might think the finger something good to eat. The two puppies play endlessly. One of them belongs to Lieutenant Evans. The crew will not be allowed ashore at Panama or else I know they would pick up a whole raft of other pets there. The jackies seem especially fond of the little coons. A few minutes ago I saw one of the jackies strolling about with a coon perched upon his shoulder, and now and then he would reach up his hand and give it a small piece of bread to eat.

NAMES OF THE GUNS

On Board U. S. S. *Louisiana*,
Sunday, November 11, 1906.

BLESSED ARCHIE:

I wish you were along with us, for you would thoroughly enjoy everything on this ship. We have had three days of perfect weather, while this great battleship with her two con-

voys, the great armored cruisers, *Tennessee* and *Washington*, have steamed steadily in column ahead southward through calm seas until now we are in the tropics. They are three as splendid ships of their class as there are afloat, save only the English Dreadnaught. The *Louisiana* now has her gun-sights and everything is all in good shape for her to begin the practice of the duties which will make her crew as fit for man-of-war's work as the crew of any one of our other first-class battleships. The men are such splendid-looking fellows, Americans of the best type, young, active, vigorous, with lots of intelligence. I was much amused at the names of the seven-inch guns which include *Victor*, *Invincible*, *Peacemaker*, together with *Skidoo*, and also one called *Tedd* and one called *The Big Stick*.

REFLECTIONS ON THE WAY

On Board U. S. S. *Louisiana*,
Nov. 13.

DEAR KERMIT:

So far this trip has been a great success, and I think Mother has really enjoyed it. As for me, I of course feel a little bored, as I always do on shipboard, but I have brought on a great variety of books, and am at this moment reading Milton's prose works, "Tacitus," and a German novel called "Jorn Uhl." Mother and I walk briskly up and down the deck together, or else sit aft under the awning, or in the after cabin, with the gun ports open, and read; and I also spend a good deal of time on the forward bridge, and sometimes on the aft bridge, and of course have gone over the ship to inspect it with the Captain. It is a splendid thing to see one of these men-of-war, and it does really make one proud of one's country. Both the officers and the enlisted men are as fine a set as one could wish to see.

It is a beautiful sight, these three great warships standing southward in close column, and almost as beautiful at night when we see not only the lights but the loom through the dark-

ness of the ships astern. We are now in the tropics and I have thought a good deal of the time over eight years ago when I was sailing to Santiago in the fleet of warship and transports. It seems a strange thing to think of my now being President, going to visit the work of the Panama Canal which I have made possible.

Mother, very pretty and dainty in white summer clothes, came up on Sunday morning to see inspection and review, or whatever they call it, of the men. I usually spend half an hour on deck before Mother is dressed. Then we breakfast together alone; have also taken lunch alone, but at dinner have two or three officers to dine with us. Doctor Rixey is along, and is a perfect dear, as always

EVENTS SINCE COLUMBUS'S DISCOVERY

November 14th.

The fourth day out was in some respects the most interesting. All the forenoon we had Cuba on our right and most of the forenoon and part of the afternoon Hayti on our left; and in each case green, jungly shores and bold mountains—two great, beautiful, venomous tropic islands. These are historic seas and Mother and I have kept thinking of all that has happened in them since Columbus landed at San Salvador (which we also saw), the Spanish explorers, the buccaneers, the English and Dutch sea-dogs and adventurers, the great English and French fleets, the desperate fighting, the triumphs, and pestilences, of all the turbulence, the splendor and wickedness, and hot, evil, riotous life of the old planters and slave-owners, Spanish, French, English, and Dutch;—their extermination of the Indians, and bringing in of negro slaves, the decay of most of the islands, the turning of Hayti into a land of savage negroes, who have reverted to voodooism and cannibalism; the effort we are now making to bring Cuba and Porto Rico forward.

To-day is calm and beautiful, as all the days have been on our trip. We have just sighted the highest land of Panama ahead of us, and we shall be at anchor by two o'clock this afternoon; just a little less than six days from the time we left Washington.

PRIDE IN AMERICA

On Board U. S. S. *Louisiana*,
Nov. 14.

DEAR TED:

I am very glad to have taken this trip, although as usual I am bored by the sea. Everything has been smooth as possible, and it has been lovely having Mother along. It gives me great pride in America to be aboard this great battleship and to see not only the material perfection of the ship herself in engines, guns and all arrangements, but the fine quality of the officers and crew. Have you ever read Smollett's novel, I think "Roderick Random" or "Humphrey Clinker," in which the hero goes to sea? It gives me an awful idea of what a floating hell of filth, disease, tyranny, and cruelty a war-ship was in those days. Now every arrangement is as clean and healthful as possible. The men can bathe and do bathe as often as cleanliness requires. Their fare is excellent and they are as self-respecting a set as can be imagined. I am no great believer in the superiority of times past; and I have no question that the officers and men of our Navy now are in point of fighting capacity better than in the times of Drake and Nelson; and morally and in physical surroundings the advantage is infinitely in our favor.

It was delightful to have you two or three days at Washington. Blessed old fellow, you had a pretty hard time in college this fall; but it can't be helped, Ted; as one grows older the bitter and the sweet keep coming together. The only thing to do is to grin and bear it, to flinch as little as possible under the punishment, and to keep pegging steadily away until the luck turns.

WHAT THE PRESIDENT SAW AT PANAMA

U. S. S. *Louisiana*,
At Sea, November 20, 1906.

DEAR KERMIT:

Our visit to Panama was most successful as well as most interesting. We were there three days and we worked from morning till night. The second day I was up at a quarter to six and got to bed at a quarter of twelve, and I do not believe that in the intervening time, save when I was dressing, there were ten consecutive minutes when I was not busily at work in some shape or form. For two days there [were] uninterrupted tropic rains without a glimpse of the sun, and the Chagres River rose in a flood, higher than any for fifteen years; so that we saw the climate at its worst. It was just what I desired to do.

It certainly adds to one's pleasure to have read history and to appreciate the picturesque. When on Wednesday we approached the coast, and the jungle-covered mountains looked clearer and clearer until we could see the surf beating on the shores, while there was hardly a sign of human habitation, I kept thinking of the four centuries of wild and bloody romance, mixed with abject squalor and suffering, which had made up the history of the Isthmus until three years ago. I could see Balboa crossing at Darien, and the wars between the Spaniards and the Indians, and the settlement and the building up of the quaint walled Spanish towns; and the trade, across the seas by galleon, and over land by pack-train and river canoe, in gold and silver, in precious stones; and then the advent of the buccaneers, and of the English seamen, of Drake and Frobisher and Morgan, and many, many others, and the wild destruction they wrought. Then I thought of the rebellion against the Spanish dominion, and the uninterrupted and bloody wars that followed, the last occurring when I became President; wars, the victorious heroes of which have their pictures frescoed on the quaint rooms of the palace at Panama

city, and in similar palaces in all capitals of these strange, turbulent little half-caste civilizations. Meanwhile the Panama railroad had been built by Americans over a half century ago, with appalling loss of life, so that it is said, of course with exaggeration, that every sleeper laid represented the death of a man. Then the French canal company started work, and for two or three years did a good deal, until it became evident that the task far exceeded its powers; and then to miscalculation and inefficiency was added the hideous greed of adventurers, trying each to save something from the general wreck, and the company closed with infamy and scandal.

Now we have taken hold of the job. We have difficulties with our own people, of course. I haven't a doubt that it will take a little longer and cost a little more than men now appreciate, but I believe that the work is being done with a very high degree both of efficiency and honesty; and I am immensely struck by the character of American employees who are engaged, not merely in superintending the work, but in doing all the jobs that need skill and intelligence. The steam shovels, the dirt trains, the machine shops, and the like, are all filled with American engineers, conductors, machinists, boiler-makers, carpenters. From the top to the bottom these men are so hardy, so efficient, so energetic, that it is a real pleasure to look at them. Stevens, the head engineer, is a big fellow, a man of daring and good sense, and burly power. All of these men are quite as formidable, and would, if it were necessary, do quite as much in battle as the crews of Drake and Morgan; but as it is, they are doing a work of infinitely more lasting consequence. Nothing whatever remains to show what Drake and Morgan did. They produced no real effect down here, but Stevens and his men are changing the face of the continent, are doing the greatest engineering feat of the ages, and the effect of their work will be felt while our civilization lasts. I went over everything that I could possibly go over in the time at my disposal. I examined the quarters of married and single men, white men and negroes. I went over

the ground of the Gatun and La Boca dams; went through Panama and Colon, and spent a day in the Culebra cut, where the great work is being done. There the huge steam-shovels are hard at it; scooping huge masses of rock and gravel and dirt previously loosened by the drillers and dynamite blasters, loading it on trains which take it away to some dump, either in the jungle or where the dams are to be built. They are eating steadily into the mountain, cutting it down and down. Little tracks are laid on the side-hills, rocks blasted out, and the great ninety-five ton steam-shovels work up like mountain howitzers until they come to where they can with advantage begin their work of eating into and destroying the mountain-side. With intense energy men and machines do their task, the white men supervising matters and handling the machines, while the tens of thousands of black men do the rough manual labor where it is not worth while to have machines do it. It is an epic feat, and one of immense significance.

The deluge of rain meant that many of the villages were knee-deep in water, while the flooded rivers tore through the tropic forests. It is a real tropic forest, palms and bananas, breadfruit trees, bamboos, lofty ceibas, and gorgeous butterflies and brilliant colored birds fluttering among the orchids. There are beautiful flowers, too.

All my old enthusiasm for natural history seemed to revive, and I would have given a good deal to have stayed and tried to collect specimens. It would be a good hunting country too; deer, and now and then jaguars and tapir, and great birds that they call wild turkeys; there are alligators in the rivers. One of the trained nurses from a hospital went to bathe in a pool last August and an alligator grabbed him by the legs and was making off with him, but was fortunately scared away, leaving the man badly injured.

I tramped everywhere through the mud. Mother did not do the roughest work, and had time to see more of the really picturesque and beautiful side of the life, and really enjoyed herself.

P. S. The Gatun dam will make a lake miles long, and the railroad now goes on what will be the bottom of this lake, and it was curious to think that in a few years great ships would be floating in water 100 feet above where we were.

ON THE WAY TO PORTO RICO

U. S. S. *Louisiana*,
At Sea, November 20, 1906.

DEAR TED:

This is the third day out from Panama. We have been steaming steadily in the teeth of the trade wind. It has blown pretty hard, and the ship has pitched a little, but not enough to make either Mother or me uncomfortable.

Panama was a great sight. In the first place it was strange and beautiful with its mass of luxuriant tropic jungle, with the treacherous tropic rivers trailing here and there through it; and it was lovely to see the orchids and brilliant butterflies and the strange birds and snakes and lizards, and finally the strange old Spanish towns and the queer thatch and bamboo huts of the ordinary natives. In the next place it is a tremendous sight to see the work on the canal going on. From the chief engineer and the chief sanitary officer down to the last arrived machinist or time-keeper, the five thousand Americans at work on the Isthmus seemed to me an exceptionally able, energetic lot, some of them grumbling, of course, but on the whole a mighty good lot of men. The West Indian negroes offer a greater problem, but they are doing pretty well also. I was astonished at the progress made. We spent the three days in working from dawn until long after darkness—dear Dr. Rixey being, of course, my faithful companion. Mother would see all she liked and then would go off on a little spree by herself, and she enjoyed it to the full.

WHAT HE SAW IN PORTO RICO

U. S. S. *Louisiana*,
At Sea, November 23, 1906.

DEAR KERMIT:

We had a most interesting two days at Porto Rico. We landed on the south side of the island and were received by the Governor and the rest of the administration, including nice Mr. Laurance Grahame; then were given a reception by the Alcalde and people of Ponce; and then went straight across the island in automobiles to San Juan on the north shore. It was an eighty mile trip and really delightful. The road wound up to the high mountains of the middle island, through them, and then down again to the flat plain on the north shore. The scenery was beautiful. It was as thoroughly tropical as Panama but much more livable. There were palms, tree-ferns, bananas, mangoes, bamboos, and many other trees and multitudes of brilliant flowers. There was one vine called the dream-vine with flowers as big as great white water-lilies, which close up tight in the day-time and bloom at night. There were vines with masses of brilliant purple and pink flowers, and others with masses of little white flowers, which at night-time smell deliciously. There were trees studded over with huge white flowers, and others, the flamboyants such as I saw in the campaign at Santiago, are a mass of large scarlet blossoms in June, but which now had shed them. I thought the tree-ferns especially beautiful. The towns were just such as you saw in Cuba, quaint, brilliantly colored, with the old church or cathedral fronting the plaza, and the plaza always full of flowers. Of course the towns are dirty, but they are not nearly as dirty and offensive as those of Italy; and there is something pathetic and childlike about the people. We are giving them a good government and the island is prospering. I never saw a finer set of young fellows than those engaged in the administration. Mr. Grahame, whom of course you remember,

is the intimate friend and ally of the leaders of the administration, that is of Governor Beekman Winthrop and of the Secretary of State, Mr. Regis Post. Grahame is a perfect trump and such a handsome, athletic fellow, and a real Sir Galahad. Any wrong-doing, and especially any cruelty makes him flame with fearless indignation. He perfectly delighted the Porto Ricans and also immensely puzzled them by coming in his Scotch kilt to a Government ball. Accordingly, at my special request, I had him wear his kilt at the state dinner and reception the night we were at the palace. You know he is a descendant of Montrose, and although born in Canada, his parents were Scotch and he was educated in Scotland. Do tell Mr. Bob Fergie about him and his kilts when you next write him.

We spent the night at the palace, which is half palace and half castle, and was the residence of the old Spanish governors. It is nearly four hundred years old, and is a delightful building, with quaint gardens and a quaint sea-wall looking over the bay. There were colored lanterns lighting up the gardens for the reception, and the view across the bay in the moonlight was lovely. Our rooms were as attractive as possible too, except that they were so very airy and open that we found it difficult to sleep—not that that much mattered as, thanks to the earliness of our start and the lateness of our reception, we had barely four hours in which we even tried to sleep.

The next morning we came back in automobiles over different and even more beautiful roads. The mountain passes through and over which we went made us feel as if we were in a tropic Switzerland. We had to cross two or three rivers where big cream-colored oxen with yokes tied to their horns pulled the automobiles through the water. At one funny little village we had an open air lunch, very good, of chicken and eggs and bread, and some wine contributed by a wealthy young Spaniard who rode up from a neighboring coffee ranch.

Yesterday afternoon we embarked again, and that evening the crew gave a theatrical entertainment on the afterdeck, clos-

ing with three boxing bouts. I send you the program. It was great fun, the audience being equally enraptured with the sentimental songs about the flag, the sailor's true love and his mother, and with the jokes (the most relished of which related to the fact that bed-bugs were supposed to be so large that they had to be shot!) and the skits about the commissary and various persons and deeds on the ship. In a way the freedom of the comment reminded me a little of the Roman triumphs, when the excellent legionaries recited in verse and prose, anything they chose concerning the hero in whose deeds they had shared and whose triumphs they were celebrating. The stage, well lighted, was built on the aftermost part of the deck. We sat in front with the officers, and the sailors behind us in masses on the deck, on the aftermost turrets, on the bridge, and even in the fighting top of the aftermost mast. It was interesting to see their faces in the light.

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P. S. I forgot to tell you about the banners and inscriptions of welcome to me in Porto Rico. One of them which stretched across the road had on it "Welcome to Theodore and Mrs. Roosevelt." Last evening I really enjoyed a rather funny experience. There is an Army and Navy Union composed chiefly of enlisted men, but also of many officers, and they suddenly held a "garrison" meeting in the torpedo-room of this ship. There were about fifty enlisted men together with the Captain and myself. I was introduced as "comrade and shipmate Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States." They were such a nice set of fellows, and I was really so pleased to be with them; so self-respecting, so earnest, and just the right type out of which to make the typical American fighting man who is also a good citizen. The meeting reminded me a good deal of a lodge meeting at Oyster Bay; and of course those men are fundamentally of the same type as the shipwrights, railroad men and fishermen whom I met at the lodge, and who, by the way, are my chief backers politi-

cally and are the men who make up the real strength of this nation.

SICKNESS OF ARCHIE

White House, March 3, 1907.

DEAR KERMIT:

Poor little Archie has diphtheria, and we have had a wearing forty-eight hours. Of course it is harder upon Mother a good deal than upon me, because she spends her whole time with him together with the trained nurse, while I simply must attend to my work during these closing hours of Congress (I have worked each day steadily up to half past seven and also in the evening); and only see Archiekins for twenty minutes or a half hour before dinner. The poor little fellow likes to have me put my hands on his forehead, for he says they smell so clean and soapy! Last night he was very sick, but this morning he is better, and Dr. Rixey thinks everything is going well. Dr. Lambert is coming on this afternoon to see him. Ethel, who is away at Philadelphia, will be sent to stay with the Rixeys. Quentin, who has been exposed somewhat to infection, is not allowed to see other little boys, and is leading a career of splendid isolation among the ushers and policemen.

Since I got back here I have not done a thing except work as the President must during the closing days of a session of Congress. Mother was, fortunately, getting much better, but now of course is having a very hard time of it nursing darling little Archie. He is just as good as gold—so patient and loving. Yesterday that scamp Quentin said to Mademoiselle: "If only I had *Archie's* nature, and *my* head, wouldn't it be great?"

In all his sickness Archie remembered that to-day was Mademoiselle's birthday, and sent her his love and congratulations—which promptly reduced good Mademoiselle to tears.

AT THE JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION

White House, April 29, 1907.

DEAREST KERMIT:

We really had an enjoyable trip to Jamestown. The guests were Mother's friend, Mrs. Johnson, a Virginia lady who reminds me so much of Aunt Annie, my mother's sister, who throughout my childhood was almost as much associated in our home life as my mother herself; Justice Moody, who was as delightful as he always is, and with whom it was a real pleasure to again have a chance to talk; Mr. and Mrs. Bob Bacon, who proved the very nicest guests of all and were companionable and sympathetic at every point. Ethel was as good as gold and took much off of Mother's shoulders in the way of taking care of Quentin. Archie and Quentin had, of course, a heavenly time; went everywhere, below and aloft, and ate indifferently at all hours, both with the officers and enlisted men. We left here Thursday afternoon, and on Friday morning passed in review through the foreign fleet and our own fleet of sixteen great battleships in addition to cruisers. It was an inspiring sight and one I would not have missed for a great deal. Then we went in a launch to the Exposition where I had the usual experience in such cases, made the usual speech, held the usual reception, went to the usual lunch, etc., etc.

In the evening Mother and I got on the *Sylph* and went to Norfolk to dine. When the *Sylph* landed we were met by General Grant to convoy us to the house. I was finishing dressing, and Mother went out into the cabin and sat down to receive him. In a minute or two I came out and began to hunt for my hat. Mother sat very erect and pretty, looking at my efforts with a tolerance that gradually changed to impatience. Finally she arose to get her own cloak, and then I found that she had been sitting gracefully but firmly on the hat herself—it was a crush hat and it had been flattened until it looked like a wrinkled pie. Mother did not see what she had done so I speechlessly thrust the hat toward her; but she still did not

understand and took it as an inexplicable jest of mine merely saying, "Yes, dear," and with patient dignity, turned and went out of the door with General Grant.

The next morning we went on the *Sylph* up the James River, and on the return trip visited three of the dearest places you can imagine, Shirley, Westover, and Brandon. I do not know whether I loved most the places themselves or the quaint out-of-the-world Virginia gentlewomen in them. The houses, the grounds, the owners, all were too dear for anything and we loved them. That night we went back to the *Mayflower* and returned here yesterday, Sunday, afternoon.

To-day spring weather seems really to have begun, and after lunch Mother and I sat under the apple-tree by the fountain. A purple finch was singing in the apple-tree overhead, and the white petals of the blossoms were silently falling. This afternoon Mother and I are going out riding with Senator Lodge.

GENERAL KUROKI

White House, May 12, 1907.

DEAR KERMIT:

General Kuroki and his suite are here and dined with us at a formal dinner last evening. Everything that he says has to be translated, but nevertheless I had a really interesting talk with him, because I am pretty well acquainted with his campaigns. He impressed me much, as indeed all Japanese military and naval officers do. They are a formidable outfit. I want to try to keep on the best possible terms with Japan and never to do her any wrong; but I want still more to see our navy maintained at the highest point of efficiency, for it is the real keeper of the peace.

TEMPORARY ABSENCE OF SKIP

The other day Pete got into a most fearful fight and was dreadfully bitten. He was a very forlorn dog indeed when

he came home. And on that particular day Skip disappeared and had not turned up when we went to bed. Poor Archie was very uneasy lest Skip should have gone the way of Jack; and Mother and I shared his uneasiness. But about two in the morning we both of us heard a sharp little bark downstairs and knew it was Skip, anxious to be let in. So down I went and opened the door on the portico, and Skip simply scuttled in and up to Archie's room, where Archie waked up enough to receive him literally with open arms and then went to sleep cuddled up to him.

DEATH OF SKIP

Sagamore Hill, Sept. 21, 1907.

BLESSED ARCHIEKINS:

We felt dreadfully homesick as you and Kermit drove away; when we pass along the bay front we always think of the dory; and we mourn dear little Skip, although perhaps it was as well the little doggie should pass painlessly away, after his happy little life; for the little fellow would have pined for you.

Your letter was a great comfort; we'll send on the football suit and hope you'll enjoy the football. Of course it will all be new and rather hard at first.

The house is "put up"; everything wrapped in white that can be, and all the rugs off the floors. Quentin is reduced to the secret service men for steady companionship.

QUENTIN'S SNAKE ADVENTURE

White House, Sept. 28, 1907.

DEAREST ARCHIE:

Before we left Oyster Bay Quentin had collected two snakes. He lost one, which did not turn up again until an hour before

departure, when he found it in one of the spare rooms. This one he left loose, and brought the other one to Washington, there being a variety of exciting adventures on the way; the snake wriggling out of his box once, and being upset on the floor once. The first day home Quentin was allowed not to go to school but to go about and renew all his friendships. Among other places that he visited was Schmid's animal store, where he left his little snake. Schmid presented him with three snakes, simply to pass the day with—a large and beautiful and very friendly snake and two little wee snakes. Quentin came hurrying back on his roller skates and burst into the room to show me his treasures. I was discussing certain matters with the Attorney-General at the time, and the snakes were eagerly deposited in my lap. The king snake, by the way, although most friendly with Quentin, had just been making a resolute effort to devour one of the smaller snakes. As Quentin and his menagerie were an interruption to my interview with the Department of Justice, I suggested that he go into the next room, where four Congressmen were drearily waiting until I should be at leisure. I thought that he and his snakes would probably enliven their waiting time. He at once fell in with the suggestion and rushed up to the Congressmen with the assurance that he would there find kindred spirits. They at first thought the snakes were wooden ones, and there was some perceptible recoil when they realized that they were alive. Then the king snake went up Quentin's sleeve—he was three or four feet long—and we hesitated to drag him back because his scales rendered that difficult. The last I saw of Quentin, one Congressman was gingerly helping him off with his jacket, so as to let the snake crawl out of the upper end of the sleeve.

In the fall of 1907 the President made a tour through the West and South and went on a hunting-trip in Louisiana. In accordance with his unvarying custom he wrote regularly to his children while on his journeyings.

TRIALS OF A TRAVELLING PRESIDENT

On Board U. S. S. *Mississippi*,
October 1, 1907.

DEAREST ETHEL:

The first part of my trip up to the time that we embarked on the river at Keokuk was just about in the ordinary style. I had continually to rush out to wave at the people at the towns through which the train passed. If the train stopped anywhere I had to make a very short speech to several hundred people who evidently thought they liked me, and whom I really liked, but to whom I had nothing in the world to say. At Canton and Keokuk I went through the usual solemn festivities—the committee of reception and the guard of honor, with the open carriage, the lines of enthusiastic fellow-citizens to whom I bowed continually right and left, the speech which in each case I thought went off rather better than I had dared hope—for I felt as if I had spoken myself out. When I got on the boat, however, times grew easier. I still have to rush out continually, stand on the front part of the deck, and wave at groups of people on shore, and at stern-wheel steamboats draped with American flags and loaded with enthusiastic excursionists. But I have a great deal of time to myself, and by gentle firmness I think I have succeeded in impressing on my good hosts that I rather resent allopathic doses of information about shoals and dykes, the amount of sand per cubic foot of water, the quantity of manufactures supplied by each river town, etc.

CHANGES OF THREE CENTURIES

On Board U. S. S. *Mississippi*,
October 1, 1907.

DEAR KERMIT:

After speaking at Keokuk this morning we got aboard this brand new stern-wheel steamer of the regular Mississippi type and started down-stream. I went up on the texas and of

course felt an almost irresistible desire to ask the pilot about Mark Twain. It is a broad, shallow, muddy river, at places the channel being barely wide enough for the boat to go through, though to my inexperienced eyes the whole river looks like a channel. The bottom lands, Illinois on one side and Missouri on the other, are sometimes overgrown with forests and sometimes great rich corn-fields, with here and there a house, here and there villages, and now and then a little town. At every such place all the people of the neighborhood have gathered to greet me. The water-front of the towns would be filled with a dense packed mass of men, women, and children, waving flags. The little villages have not only their own population, but also the farmers who have driven in in their wagons with their wives and children from a dozen miles back—just such farmers as came to see you and the cavalry on your march through Iowa last summer.

It is my first trip on the Mississippi, and I am greatly interested in it. How wonderful in its rapidity of movement has been the history of our country, compared with the history of the old world. For untold ages this river had been flowing through the lonely continent, not very greatly changed since the close of the Pleistocene. During all these myriads of years the prairie and the forest came down to its banks. The immense herds of the buffalo and the elk wandered along them season after season, and the Indian hunters on foot or in canoes trudged along the banks or skimmed the water. Probably a thousand years saw no change that would have been noticeable to our eyes. Then three centuries ago began the work of change. For a century its effects were not perceptible. Just nothing but an occasional French fleet or wild half savage French-Canadian explorer passing up or down the river or one of its branches in an Indian canoe; then the first faint changes, the building of one or two little French fur traders' hamlets, the passing of one or two British officers' boats, and the very rare appearance of the uncouth American backwoodsman.

Then the change came with a rush. Our settlers reached the head-waters of the Ohio, and flat-boats and keel-boats began to go down to the mouth of the Mississippi, and the Indians and the game they followed began their last great march to the west. For ages they had marched back and forth, but from this march there was never to be a return. Then the day of steamboat traffic began, and the growth of the first American cities and states along the river with their strength and their squalor and their raw pride. Then this mighty steamboat traffic passed its zenith and collapsed, and for a generation the river towns have dwindled compared with the towns which took their importance from the growth of the railroads. I think of it all as I pass down the river.

October 4. . . . We are steaming down the river now between Tennessee and Arkansas. The forest comes down a little denser to the bank, the houses do not look quite so well kept; otherwise there is not much change. There are a dozen steamers accompanying us, filled with delegates from various river cities. The people are all out on the banks to greet us still. Moreover, at night, no matter what the hour is that we pass a town, it is generally illuminated, and sometimes whistles and noisy greetings, while our steamboats whistle in equally noisy response, so that our sleep is apt to be broken. Seventeen governors of different states are along, in a boat by themselves. I have seen a good deal of them, however, and it has been of real use to me, especially as regards two or three problems that are up. At St. Louis there was an enormous multitude of people out to see us. The procession was in a drenching rain, in which I stood bareheaded, smiling affably and waving my drowned hat to those hardy members of the crowd who declined to go to shelter. At Cairo, I was also greeted with great enthusiasm, and I was interested to find that there was still extreme bitterness felt over Dickens's description of the town and the people in "Martin Chuzzlewit" sixty-five years ago.

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PECULIARITIES OF MISSISSIPPI STEAMBOATS

On Board U. S. S. *Mississippi*,
October 1, 1907.

DEAR ARCHIE:

I am now on what I believe will be my last trip of any consequence while I am President. Until I got to Koekuk, Iowa, it was about like any other trip, but it is now pleasant going down the Mississippi, though I admit that I would rather be at home. We are on a funny, stern-wheel steamer. Mr. John McIlhenny is with me, and Capt. Seth Bullock among others. We have seen wild geese and ducks and cormorants on the river, and the people everywhere come out in boats and throng or cluster on the banks to greet us.

October 4. You would be greatly amused at these steamboats, and I think you will like your trip up the Mississippi next spring, if only everything goes right, and Mother is able to make it. There is no hold to the boat, just a flat bottom with a deck, and on this deck a foot or so above the water stands the engine-room, completely open at the sides and all the machinery visible as you come up to the boat. Both ends are blunt, and the gangways are drawn up to big cranes. Of course the boats could not stand any kind of a sea, but here they are very useful, for they are shallow and do not get hurt when they bump into the bank or one another. The river runs down in a broad, swirling, brown current, and nobody but an expert could tell the channel. One pilot or another is up in the texas all day long and all night. Now the channel goes close under one bank, then we have to cross the river and go under the other bank; then there will come a deep spot when we can go anywhere. Then we wind in and out among shoals and sand-bars. At night the steamers are all lighted up, for there are a dozen of them in company with us. It is nice to look back at them as they twist after us in a long winding line down the river.

THE LONE CAT OF THE CAMP

Stamboul, La., Oct. 3, 1907.

DARLING QUENTIN:

When we shifted camp we came down here and found a funny little wooden shanty, put up by some people who now and then come out here and sleep in it when they fish or shoot. The only living thing around it was a pussy-cat. She was most friendly and pleasant, and we found that she had been living here for two years. When people were in the neighborhood, she would take what scraps she could get, but the rest of the time she would catch her own game for herself. She was pretty thin when we came, and has already fattened visibly. She was not in the least disconcerted by the appearance of the hounds, and none of them paid the slightest attention to her when she wandered about among them. We are camped on the edge of a lake. This morning before breakfast I had a good swim in it, the water being warmer than the air, and this evening I rowed on it in the moonlight. Every night we hear the great owls hoot and laugh in uncanny fashion.

Camp on Tenesas Bayou,
Oct. 6, 1907.

DARLING ETHEL:

Here we are in camp. It is very picturesque, and as comfortable as possible. We have a big fly tent for the horses; the hounds sleep with them, or with the donkeys! There is a white hunter, Ben Lily, who has just joined us, who is a really remarkable character. He literally lives in the woods. He joined us early this morning, with one dog. He had tramped for twenty-four hours through the woods, without food or water, and had slept a couple of hours in a crooked tree, like a wild turkey.

He has a mild, gentle face, blue eyes, and full beard; he is

a religious fanatic, and is as hardy as a bear or elk, literally caring nothing for fatigue and exposure, which we couldn't



stand at all. He doesn't seem to consider the 24 hours' trip he has just made, any more than I should a half hour's walk before breakfast. He quotes the preacher Talmage continually.

This is a black belt. The people are almost all negroes,



curious creatures, some of them with Indian blood, like those in "Voodoo Tales." Yesterday we met two little negresses riding one mule, bare-legged, with a rope bridle.

Tenesas Bayou, Oct. 10, 1907.

BLESSED ARCHIE:

I just loved your letter. I was so glad to hear from you. I was afraid you would have trouble with your Latin. What a funny little fellow Opdyke must be; I am glad you like him. How do you get on at football?

We have found no bear. I shot a deer; I sent a picture of it to Kermit.

A small boy here caught several wildcats. When one was in the trap he would push a box towards it, and it would itself get into it, to hide; and so he would capture it alive. But one, instead of getting into the box, combed the hair of the small boy!



We have a great many hounds in camp; at night they gaze solemnly into the fire.



Dr. Lambert has caught a good many bass, which we have enjoyed at the camp table.



Bear Bayou, Oct. 16, 1907.

DARLING ARCHIE:

We have had no luck with the bear; but we have killed as many deer as we needed for meat, and the hounds caught a wildcat. Our camp is as comfortable as possible, and we have great camp fires at night.

One of the bear-hunting planters with me told me he once saw a bear, when overtaken by the hounds, lie down flat on its back with all its legs stretched out, while the dogs barked furiously all around it.

Suddenly the bear sat up with a jump, and frightened all the dogs so that they nearly turned back somersaults.

At this camp there is a nice tame pussy-cat which lies out here all the time, catching birds, mice, or lizards; but very friendly with any party of hunters which happens along.

P. S.—I have just killed a bear; I have written Kermit about it.



The Bear Plays Dead



The Bear Sits Up

SHOOTING THE BEAR

En route to Washington, Oct. 22, 1907.

DEAR TED:

"Bad old father" is coming back after a successful trip. It was a success in every way, including the bear hunt; but in the case of the bear hunt we only just made it successful and no more, for it was not until the twelfth day of steady hunting that I got my bear. Then I shot it in the most approved hunter's style, going up on it in a canebrake as it made a walking bay before the dogs. I also killed a deer—more by luck than anything else, as it was a difficult shot.

QUENTIN'S "EXQUISITE JEST"

White House, Jan. 2, 1908.

DEAR ARCHIE:

Friday night Quentin had three friends, including the little Taft boy, to spend the night with him. They passed an evening and night of delirious rapture, it being a continuous rough-house save when they would fall asleep for an hour or two from sheer exhaustion. I interfered but once, and that was to stop an exquisite jest of Quentin's, which consisted in procuring sulphureted hydrogen to be used on the other boys when they got into bed. They played hard, and it made me realize how old I had grown and how very busy I had been these last few years, to find that they had grown so that I was not needed in the play. Do you recollect how we all of us used to play hide-and-go-seek in the White House? and have obstacle races down the hall when you brought in your friends?

Mother continues much attached to Scamp, who is certainly a cunning little dog. He is very affectionate, but so exceedingly busy when we are out on the grounds, that we only catch glimpses of him zigzagging at full speed from one end of the

place to the other. The kitchen cat and he have strained relations but have not yet come to open hostility.

White House, Jan. 27, 1908.

DEAR ARCHIE:

Scamp is really a cunning little dog, but he takes such an extremely keen interest in hunting, and is so active, that when he is out on the grounds with us we merely catch glimpses of him as he flashes by. The other night after the Judicial Reception when we went up-stairs to supper the kitchen cat suddenly appeared parading down the hall with great friendliness, and was forthwith exiled to her proper home again.

TOM PINCH

White House, February 23, 1908.

DEAREST KERMIT:

I quite agree with you about Tom Pinch. He is a despicable kind of character; just the kind of character Dickens liked, because he had himself a thick streak of maudlin sentimentality of the kind that, as somebody phrased it, "made him wallow naked in the pathetic." It always interests me about Dickens to think how much first-class work he did and how almost all of it was mixed up with every kind of cheap, second-rate matter. I am very fond of him. There are innumerable characters that he has created which symbolize vices, virtues, follies, and the like almost as well as the characters in Bunyan; and therefore I think the wise thing to do is simply to skip the bosh and twaddle and vulgarity and untruth, and get the benefit out of the rest. Of course one fundamental difference between Thackeray and Dickens is that Thackeray was a gentleman and Dickens was not. But a man might do some mighty good work and not be a gentleman in any sense.

"MARTIN CHUZZLEWIT"

White House, February 29, 1908.

DEAREST KERMIT:

Of course I entirely agree with you about "Martin Chuzzlewit." But the point seems to me that the preposterous perversion of truth and the ill-nature and malice of the book are of consequence chiefly as indicating Dickens' own character, about which I care not a rap; whereas, the characters in American shortcomings and vices and follies as typified are immortal, and, moreover, can be studied with great profit by all of us to-day. Dickens was an ill-natured, selfish cad and boor, who had no understanding of what the word gentleman meant, and no appreciation of hospitality or good treatment. He was utterly incapable of seeing the high purpose and the real greatness which (in spite of the presence also of much that was bad or vile) could have been visible all around him here in America to any man whose vision was both keen and lofty. He could not see the qualities of the young men growing up here, though it was these qualities that enabled these men to conquer the West and to fight to a finish the great Civil War, and though they were to produce leadership like that of Lincoln, Lee, and Grant. Naturally he would think there was no gentleman in New York, because by no possibility could he have recognized a gentleman if he had met one. Naturally he would condemn all America because he had not the soul to see what America was really doing. But he was in his element in describing with bitter truthfulness Scadder and Jefferson Brick, and Elijah Pogram, and Hannibal Chollup, and Mrs. Hominy and the various other characters, great and small, that have always made me enjoy "Martin Chuzzlewit." Most of these characters we still have with us.

GOOD READING FOR PACIFISTS

March 4, 1908.

DEAREST KERMIT:

You have recently been writing me about Dickens. Senator Lodge gave me the following first-class quotation from a piece by Dickens about "Proposals for Amusing Posterity":

"And I would suggest that if a body of gentlemen possessing their full phrenological share of the combative and antagonistic organs, could only be induced to form themselves into a society for Declaiming about Peace, with a very considerable war-whoop against all non-declainers; and if they could only be prevailed upon to sum up eloquently the many unspeakable miseries and horrors of War, and to present them to their own country as a conclusive reason for its being undefended against War, and becoming a prey of the first despot who might choose to inflict those miseries and horrors—why then I really believe we should have got to the very best joke we could hope to have in our whole Complete Jest-Book for Posterity and might fold our arms and rest convinced that we had done enough for that discerning Patriarch's amusement."

This ought to be read before all the tomfool peace societies and anti-imperialist societies of the present-day.

QUENTIN AS A BALL-PLAYER

White House, March 8, 1908.

DEAREST ARCHIE:

Yesterday morning Quentin brought down all his Force School baseball nine to practise on the White House grounds. It was great fun to see them, and Quentin made a run. It reminded me of when you used to come down with the Friend's School eleven. Moreover, I was reminded of the occasional rows in the eleven by an outburst in connection with the nine

which resulted in their putting off of it a small boy who Quentin assured me was the "meanest kid in town." I like to see Quentin practising baseball. It gives me hopes that one of my boys will not take after his father in this respect, and will prove able to play the national game!

Ethel has a delightful new dog—a white bull terrier—not much more than a puppy as yet. She has named it Mike and it seems very affectionate. Scamp is really an extraordinary ratter, and kills a great many rats in the White House, in the cellars and on the lower floor and among the machinery. He is really a very nice little dog.

White House, March 15, 1908.

DEAREST ARCHIE:

Quentin is now taking a great interest in baseball. Yesterday the Force School nine, on which he plays second base, played the P Street nine on the White House grounds where Quentin has marked out a diamond. The Force School nine was victorious by a score of 22 to 5. I told Quentin I was afraid the P Street boys must have felt badly and he answered, "Oh, I guess not; you see I filled them up with lemonade afterward!"

Charlie Taft is on his nine.

Did you hear of the dreadful time Ethel had with her new bull terrier, Mike? She was out riding with Fitz Lee, who was on Roswell, and Mike was following. They suppose that Fidelity must have accidentally kicked Mike. The first they knew the bulldog sprang at the little mare's throat. She fought pluckily, rearing and plunging, and shook him off, and then Ethel galloped away. As soon as she halted, Mike overtook her and attacked Fidelity again. He seized her by the shoulder and tried to seize her by the throat, and twice Ethel had to break away and gallop off, Fitz Lee endeavoring in vain to catch the dog. Finally he succeeded, just as Mike had got Fidelity by the hock. He had to give Mike a tremendous beating to restore him to obedience; but of course Mike will have

to be disposed of. Fidelity was bitten in several places and it was a wonder that Ethel was able to keep her seat, because naturally the frightened little mare reared and plunged and ran.

FOUR SHEEPISH SMALL BOYS

DEAREST ARCHIE:

White House, April 11, 1908.

Ethel has bought on trial an eight-months bulldog pup. He is very cunning, very friendly, and wriggles all over in a frantic desire to be petted.

Quentin really seems to be getting on pretty well with his baseball. In each of the last two games he made a base hit and a run. I have just had to give him and three of his associates a dressing down—one of the three being Charlie Taft. Yesterday afternoon was rainy, and four of them played five hours inside the White House. They were very boisterous and were all the time on the verge of mischief, and finally they made spit-balls and deliberately put them on the portraits. I did not discover it until after dinner, and then pulled Quentin out of bed and had him take them all off the portraits, and this morning required him to bring in the three other culprits before me. I explained to them that they had acted like boors; that it would have been a disgrace to have behaved so in any gentleman's house; that Quentin could have no friend to see him, and the other three could not come inside the White House, until I felt that a sufficient time had elapsed to serve as punishment. They were four very sheepish small boys when I got through with them.

JOHN BURROUGHS AND THE FLYING SQUIRRELS

DEAREST ARCHIE:

White House, May 10, 1908.

Mother and I had great fun at Pine Knot. Mr. Burroughs, whom I call Oom John, was with us and we greatly enjoyed

having him. But one night he fell into great disgrace! The flying squirrels that were there last Christmas had raised a brood, having built a large nest inside of the room in which you used to sleep and in which John Burroughs slept. Of course they held high carnival at night-time. Mother and I do not mind them at all, and indeed rather like to hear them scrambling about, and then as a sequel to a sudden frantic fight between two of them, hearing or seeing one little fellow come plump down to the floor and scuttle off again to the wall. But one night they waked up John Burroughs and he spent a misguided hour hunting for the nest, and when he found it took it down and caught two of the young squirrels and put them in a basket. The next day under Mother's direction I took them out, getting my fingers somewhat bitten in the process, and loosed them in our room, where we had previously put back the nest. I do not think John Burroughs profited by his misconduct, because the squirrels were more active than ever that night both in his room and ours, the disturbance in their family affairs having evidently made them restless!

BEAUTY OF WHITE HOUSE GROUNDS

White House, May 17, 1908.

DEAREST ARCHIE:

Quentin is really doing pretty well with his baseball, and he is perfectly absorbed in it. He now occasionally makes a base hit if the opposing pitcher is very bad; and his nine wins more than one-half of its games.

The grounds are too lovely for anything, and spring is here, or rather early summer, in full force. Mother's flower-gardens are now as beautiful as possible, and the iron railings of the fences south of them are covered with clematis and roses in bloom. The trees are in full foliage and the grass brilliant green, and my friends, the warblers, are trooping to the north in full force.

QUENTIN AND A BEEHIVE

White House, May 30, 1908.

DEAREST ARCHIE:

Quentin has met with many adventures this week; in spite of the fact that he has had a bad cough which has tended to interrupt the variety of his career. He has become greatly interested in bees, and the other day started down to get a beehive from somewhere, being accompanied by a mongrel looking small boy as to whose name I inquired. When repeated by Quentin it was obviously an Italian name. I asked who he was and Quentin responded: "Oh, his father keeps a fruit-stand." However, they got their bees all right and Quentin took the hive up to a school exhibit. There some of the bees got out and were left behind ("Poor homeless miserables," as Quentin remarked of them), and yesterday they at intervals added great zest to life in the classroom. The hive now reposes in the garden and Scamp surveys it for hours at a time with absorbed interest. After a while he will get to investigating it, and then he will find out more than he expects to.

This afternoon Quentin was not allowed to play ball because of his cough, so he was keeping the score when a foul tip caught him in the eye. It was quite a bad blow, but Quentin was very plucky about it and declined to go in until the game was finished, an hour or so later. By that time his eye had completely shut up and he now has a most magnificent bandage around his head over that eye, and feels much like a baseball hero. I came in after dinner to take a look at him and to my immense amusement found that he was lying flat on his back in bed saying his prayers, while Mademoiselle was kneeling down. It took me a moment or two to grasp the fact that good Mademoiselle wished to impress on him that it was not right to say his prayers unless he knelt down, and as that in this case he could not kneel down she would do it in his place!

QUENTIN AND TURNER

(To Mrs. Nicholas Longworth, Cincinnati, Ohio)

Oyster Bay, June 29, 1908.

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Quentin is really too funny for anything. He got his legs fearfully sunburned the other day, and they blistered, became inflamed, and ever-faithful Mother had to hold a clinic on him. Eyeing his blistered and scarlet legs, he remarked, "They look like a Turner sunset, don't they?" And then, after a pause, "I won't be caught again this way! quoth the raven, 'Nevermore!'" I was not surprised at his quoting Poe, but I would like to know where the ten-year-old scamp picked up any knowledge of Turner's sunsets.

QUENTIN AND THE PIG

White House, October 17, 1908.

DEAREST KERMIT:

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Quentin performed a characteristic feat yesterday. He heard that Schmidt, the animal man, wanted a small pig, and decided that he would turn an honest penny by supplying the want. So out in the neighborhood of his school he called on an elderly darkey who, he had seen, possessed little pigs; bought one; popped it into a bag; astutely dodged the school—having a well-founded distrust of how the boys would feel toward his passage with the pig—and took the car for home. By that time the pig had freed itself from the bag, and, as he explained, he journeyed in with a "small squealish pig" under his arm; but as the conductor was a friend of his he was not put off. He bought it for a dollar and sold it to Schmidt for a dollar

and a quarter, and feels as if he had found a permanent line of business. Schmidt then festooned it in red ribbons and sent it to parade the streets. I gather that Quentin led it around for part of the parade, but he was somewhat vague on this point, evidently being a little uncertain as to our approval of the move.

A PRESIDENTIAL FALL

White House, Nov. 8, 1908.

DEAREST ARCHIE:

Quentin is getting along very well; he plays centre on his football eleven, and in a match for juniors in tennis he got into the semi-finals. What is more important, he seems to be doing very well with his studies, and to get on well with the boys, and is evidently beginning to like the school. He has shown himself very manly. Kermit is home now, and is a perfect dear.

The other day while taking a scramble walk over Rock Creek, when I came to that smooth-face of rock which we get round by holding on to the little bit of knob that we call the Button, the top of this button came off between my thumb and forefinger. I hadn't supposed that I was putting much weight on it, but evidently I was, for I promptly lost my balance, and finding I was falling, I sprang out into the creek. There were big rocks in it, and the water was rather shallow, but I landed all right and didn't hurt myself the least bit in the world.

MORE ABOUT QUENTIN

White House, Nov. 22, 1908.

DEAREST ARCHIE:

I handed your note and the two dollar bill to Quentin, and he was perfectly delighted. It came in very handy, because poor Quentin has been in bed with his leg in a plaster cast, and the two dollars I think went to make up a fund with which he

purchased a fascinating little steam-engine, which has been a great source of amusement to him. He is out to-day visiting some friends, although his leg is still in a cast. He has a great turn for mechanics.

White House, Nov. 27, 1908.

BLESSED ARCHIE:

It is fine to hear from you and to know you are having a good time. Quentin, I am happy to say, is now thoroughly devoted to his school. He feels that he is a real Episcopal High School boy, and takes the keenest interest in everything. Yesterday, Thanksgiving Day, he had various friends here. His leg was out of plaster and there was nothing he did not do. He roller-skated; he practised football; he had engineering work and electrical work; he went all around the city; he romped all over the White House; he went to the slaughter-house and got a pig for Thanksgiving dinner.

Ethel is perfectly devoted to Ace, who adores her. The other day he was lost for a little while; he had gone off on a side street and unfortunately saw a cat in a stable and rushed in and killed it, and they had him tied up there when one of our men found him.

In a way I know that Mother misses Scamp, but in another way she does not, for now all the squirrels are very tame and cunning and are hopping about the lawn and down on the paths all the time, so that we see them whenever we walk, and they are not in the least afraid of us.

White House, Dec. 3, 1908.

DEAREST ARCHIE:

I have a very strong presentiment that Santa Claus will not forget that watch! Quentin went out shooting with Dr. Rixey on Monday and killed three rabbits, which I think was pretty good. He came back very dirty and very triumphant, and Mother, feeling just as triumphant, brought him promptly over with his gun and his three rabbits to see me in the office. On

most days now he rides out to school, usually on Achilles. Very shortly he will begin to spend his nights at the school, however. He has become sincerely attached to the school, and at the moment thinks he would rather stay there than go to Groton; but this is a thought he will get over—with Mother's active assistance. He has all kinds of friends, including some who are on a hockey team with him here in the city. The hockey team apparently plays hockey now and then, but only very occasionally, and spends most of the time disciplining its own members.

In 1909, after retiring from the Presidency, Colonel Roosevelt went on a hunting trip in Africa, writing as usual to his children while away.

TRIBUTE TO KERMIT

On the 'Nzor River, Nov. 13, 1909.

DARLING ETHEL:

Here we are, by a real tropical river, with game all around, and no human being within several days' journey. At night the hyenas come round the camp, uttering their queer howls; and once or twice we have heard lions; but unfortunately have never seen them. Kermit killed a leopard yesterday. He has really done so very well! It is rare for a boy with his refined tastes and his genuine appreciation of literature—and of so much else—to be also an exceptionally bold and hardy sportsman. He is still altogether too reckless; but by my hen-with-one-chicken attitude, I think I shall get him out of Africa uninjured; and his keenness, cool nerve, horsemanship, hardihood, endurance, and good eyesight make him a really good wilderness hunter. We have become genuinely attached to Cunninghame and Tarleton, and all three naturalists, especially Heller; and also to our funny black attendants. The porters always amuse us; at this moment about thirty of them are bringing in the wood for the camp fires, which burn all

night; and they are all chanting in chorus, the chant being nothing but the words "*Wood*—plenty of wood to burn!"

A Merry Christmas to you! And to Archie and Quentin. How I wish I were to be with you all, no matter how cold it might be at Sagamore; but I suppose we shall be sweltering under mosquito nets in Uganda.

LONGING FOR HOME

Campalla, Dec. 23, 1909.

BLESSEDEST ETHELY-BYE:

Here we are, the most wise Bavian—particularly nice—and the Elderly Parent, on the last stage of their journey. I am enjoying it all, but I think Kermit regards me as a little soft, because I am so eagerly looking forward to the end, when I shall see darling, pretty Mother, my own sweetheart, and the very nicest of all nice daughters—you blessed girlie. Do you remember when you explained, with some asperity, that of course you wished Ted were at home, because you didn't have anybody as a really intimate companion, whereas Mother had "old Father"? It is a *great* comfort to have a daughter to whom I can write about all kinds of intimate things!

This is a most interesting place. We crossed the great Nyanza Lake, in a comfortable steamer, in 24 hours, seeing a lovely sunset across the vast expanse of waters; and the moonlight later was as lovely. Here it is as hot as one would expect directly on the Equator, and the brilliant green landscape is fairly painted with even more brilliant flowers, on trees, bush, and vines; while the strange, semi-civilized people are most interesting. The queer little king's Prime Minister, an exceedingly competent, gorgeously dressed, black man, reminds Kermit of a rather civilized Umslopagaar—if that is the way you spell Rider Haggard's Zulu hero.

In this little native town we are driven round in rickshaws, each with four men pushing and pulling, who utter a queer,

clanging note of exclamation in chorus, every few seconds, hour after hour.

THE LAST HUNT

DEAREST ARCHIE:

Gondokoro, Feb. 27, 1910.

Here, much to my pleasure, I find your letter written after the snow-storm at Sagamore. No snow here! On two or three days the thermometer at noon has stood at 115 degrees in the shade. All three naturalists and Mr. Cunninghame, the guide, have been sick, and so Kermit and I made our last hunt alone, going for eight days into the Lado. We were very successful, getting among other things three giant eland, which are great prizes. We worked hard; Kermit of course worked hardest, for he is really a first-class walker and runner; I had to go slowly, but I kept at it all day and every day. Kermit has really become not only an excellent hunter but also a responsible and trustworthy man, fit to lead; he managed the whole caravan and after hunting all day he would sit up half the night taking care of the skins. He is also the nicest possible companion. We are both very much attached to our gun-bearers and tent boys, and will be sorry to part with them.

QUENTIN GROWN-UP

DEAR ARCHIE:

New York, Dec. 23, 1911.

Quentin turned up last night. He is half an inch taller than I am, and is in great shape. He is much less fat than he was, and seems to be turning out right in every way. I was amused to have him sit down and play the piano pretty well. We miss you dreadfully now that Christmas has come. The family went into revolt about my slouch hat, which Quentin christened "Old Mizzoura," and so I have had to buy another with a less pronounced crown and brim. We all drank your good health at dinner.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THE FOES OF OUR OWN HOUSEHOLD. By Theodore Roosevelt. Author of "Fear God and Take Your Own Part," etc. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1917.

347 pp., 8vo, red cloth.

This material is as originally published in book form with the following exceptions: Appendixes A and E of the original publication (WHY WE ARE AT WAR; THE GERMAN HORROR; and THE HUN WITHIN OUR GATES) have been omitted as they are brief, unimportant duplications of themes better worked out elsewhere.

There were two issues of the first edition (differing only in the printer's device on title), as well as several reprints.

The chapters were first published as follows:

1. Rewritten, with two-thirds new material, from speech at Forest Hills, L. I., July 4, 1917. First published in book form. 2. *Metropolitan*, September, 1917. 3. Written in connection with the war-time activities of the *Vigilantes* and released to the newspapers September 9, 1917. Published in part in *New York Times*, September 10, 1917. Here printed from original manuscript. 4. Original publication not traced. Probably a newspaper article. 5. Original publication not traced. Probably a newspaper article. 6. Original publication not traced. Probably a newspaper article. 7. *Metropolitan*, May, 1917. Reprinted with a few changes. 8. *The Outlook*, March 20 and 27, 1909. 9. Original publication not traced. Probably a newspaper article. 10. Original publication not traced. Probably a newspaper article. 11. *Metropolitan*, May, 1916. 12. *Metropolitan*, October, 1917. 13. An open letter to the press, published in part in *New York Times*, July 20, 1917. 14. Speech at Minneapolis, Minn., September 28, 1917. Printed in part in *New York Times*, September 29, 1917. 15. Speech at Lincoln, Neb., June 14, 1917. Printed in part in *New York Times*, June 15, 1917. Appendix, *Metropolitan*, August, 1917.

THE GREAT ADVENTURE. Present-day studies in American nationalism. By Theodore Roosevelt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918.

xiv, 204 pp., 12mo, tan cloth.

This material is as originally published in book form, with the following exceptions: Appendixes B (DISPOSITION OF THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE FUND) and E (STRAIGHT-OUT AMERICANISM), the first being merely an accounting of the various charities to which the fund was given, and the second made up of two war letters by others, have been omitted. Appendix A (ACKNOWLEDGMENT) has been placed with the FOREWORD. The chapters:

have been rearranged and renumbered, with some changes as indicated below, and Chapters 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, and 23 have been added from: ROOSEVELT IN THE KANSAS CITY "STAR." Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921; *New York Times* and *The Outlook*, as indicated below. The chapters were first published as follows:

Foreword (including Appendix A of first edition), new material. 1. *Metropolitan*, October, 1918. 2. *Metropolitan*, November, 1918, with last half new material. 3. *Metropolitan*, January, 1918, mainly rewritten and greatly enlarged. 4. Rewritten and enlarged from *Metropolitan*, December, 1917, and *Kansas City Star*, December 27, 1917. 5. New material. 6. *Metropolitan*, September, 1918, with two pages new material. 7. Omits two and a half introductory pages and adds four and a half pages: CITIZENS OR SUBJECTS, from the *Kansas City Star*, April 6, 1918, and half of: SEDITION, A FREE PRESS AND PERSONAL RULE, from the *Kansas City Star*, May 7, 1918. 8. *Metropolitan*, February and August, 1918, with slight changes. 9. *Kansas City Star*, August 4, 1918; and *Metropolitan*, July, 1918. 10. New material. 11. *Kansas City Star* editorials: A FIFTY-FIFTY WAR ATTITUDE, November 20, 1917; FOUR BITES OF A CHERRY, same, December 7, 1917; and A BETRAYAL OF DEMOCRACY, same, December 21, 1917. 12. *Kansas City Star* editorial: SACRIFICE ON COLD ALTARS, November 13, 1918. 13. *Metropolitan*, March, 1918. 14. *Metropolitan*, December, 1918, and address: THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO RULE, delivered at Carnegie Hall, New York, March 20, 1912, and printed in *The Outlook*, March 23, 1912. 15. *Metropolitan*, June, 1918. 16. First collected in this edition from *Outlook*, September 18, 1918. 17. First collected in this edition from *New York Times*, July 19, 1918. 18. *Kansas City Star*, May 12, 1918. 19. Appendix D, of first edition, in which it was printed from the author's manuscript. 20. Six editorials in *Kansas City Star*: HIGH-SOUNDING PHRASES OF MUDDY MEANING, October 17, 1918; UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER, October 26, 1918; WHAT ARE THE FOURTEEN POINTS?, October 30, 1918; FURTHER CONSIDERATION OF THE FOURTEEN POINTS, October 30, 1918; FOURTEEN SCRAPS OF PAPER, October 31, 1918; THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS AND THE ENSLAVEMENT OF MANKIND, November 22, 1918. 21. First collected in this edition from *New York Times*, October 29, 1918. 22. *Kansas City Star*, November 26, 1918. 23. Three editorials in the *Kansas City Star*: THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, November 17, 1918; THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE, December 2, 1918; THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, January 13, 1919.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S LETTERS TO HIS CHILDREN. Edited by Joseph Bucklin Bishop. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919.

240 pp., illus., 12mo, green cloth.

This collection of 141 letters was written between 1898 and 1911 and addressed, for the most part, to the author's children, with a few to intimate friends, telling about the children. It is the most popular work of the author and has been frequently reprinted in this country and in England. It was never issued serially.

The first issue of the first edition, consisting of about 100 copies, is identified by the presence of the word *twenty* in the third line of the introduction. In later printings this word was changed to read *a dozen*.

A number of the sketches for which Colonel Roosevelt's "picture letters" were famous are reproduced in the text.

R. W. G. VAIL.

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